



Daily Report

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International Conference on Terrorism Held
AU231816 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 21 Apr 88 p 6

[Report by Mariana Mikhaylova, special correspondent to a "round table conference" on terrorism held in Varna, on 20 April 1988: "Contemporary Aspects in the Research of the Phenomenon Called Terrorism"]

[Text] Scientists from various social science institutes attached to the central committees of the BCP, the PZPR, the CPCZ, and the CPSU, as well as experts on problems of political terrorism met for a "round table conference" at the Druzhba resort near Varna, on 20 April, which was organized by the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories in order to discuss the topic: "Contemporary Terrorism—Essence and Trends." The participants in the conference searched for a specification of the sociopolitical, psychological, and ideological dimensions of contemporary terrorism.

In his introductory speech Professor Aleksandur Yankov stressed that throughout a prolonged period of time our ideological struggle on the question of terrorism was mainly aimed at unmasking anti-communist propaganda, which presented Marxism as a political philosophy of terrorism, and the socialist states as subversive centers of inspiring and directly supporting actions of terrorism. The class struggle and the national liberation movements were described as manifestations of political terrorism.

For a long time the efforts of the scientific-ideological front were engaged mainly with the search for arguments likely to refute the criticism of the bourgeois concepts

and the campaigns trying to identify violence with socialism. Many aspects are directly connected with the range of problems discussed in this respect which are awaiting a topical solution, a meaningful explanation, and thorough scientific research. This appeared from the reports and papers submitted to the conference, as well as from the questions raised.

The opinions exchanged during the conference confirmed the need for greater accuracy in using the concept of aggression and international terrorism.

Briefs

CEMA Experts End Talks

The working group of CEMA experts from the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the USSR concluded their 4-day deliberations on the unification of parameters for the main kinds of fittings and boilers for classical power engineering in Olomouc on 22 April. [Summary] [AU281558 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Apr 88 p 2]

CEMA Secretary Receives Yugoslav

Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary general of CEMA, received Ambassador Budimir Lazovic, head of the SFRY mission to CEMA. They discussed the development and promotion of mutually beneficial and effective cooperation between Yugoslavia and CEMA. [Text] [AU0405185488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 88 p 7]

Israeli Incursion Into Lebanon Condemned

AU0505165288 Sofia BTA in English
1616 GMT 5 May 88

["Resolute Protest"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—In connection with the latest Israeli military incursion in southern Lebanon a representative of Bulgaria's Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated before a BTA reporter:

During the last days we witnessed a new, large-scale military operation of Israel in southern Lebanon under the pretext for protection of the interests of its security. The Lebanese land suffered new material and human losses. This criminal act, which is in open contradiction with the principles of international law and norms, brought to straining of the explosive situation in the Middle East.

Expressing confidence that the demonstration of military force on foreign territory under any pretext cannot guarantee the security of any state in the region, the Bulgarian Government resolutely condemns this new Israeli invasion against sovereign Lebanon. Bulgaria stands in support of the resolutions adopted by the U.N. Security Council for immediate withdrawal of the Israeli Armies from the entire Lebanese territory, the "security zone" wilfully proclaimed as such by Israel included, this would guarantee the sovereignty, territorial wholeness and political independence of the Republic of Lebanon.

Popularity of Soviet Journalism Viewed

AU0605095488 Sofia BTA in English
0735 GMT 5 May 88

["Soviet Journalism Sets Example"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—In an article marking the Day of the Soviet Press and contributed to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Mr Boyan Traykov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, tells about the popularity of the Soviet mass media with the Bulgarian people. Nearly 4,600 Soviet periodicals arrive at more than three million addresses in Bulgaria in almost 200 million copies a year. Bearing in mind the popularity of Soviet radio and television programmes in Bulgaria, it will be only natural to assert that the Bulgarian people are constantly in touch with life in the Soviet Union.

The rapid and across-the-board restructuring we see in the Soviet mass media is a school for glasnost. Particularly impressive and instructive are the Leninist intransigence and pointedness of today's Soviet journalism, the analytical and competent presentation of the new life with all its achievements and contradictions from a clear-cut professional position, the courageous opposition to everything which stands in the way and the courageous support for everything which helps perestroika and is its manifestation, the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists emphasises.

He indicates that the forthcoming discussion of cultural restructuring in Bulgaria gives Bulgarian journalists an access to a new creative world, which will enable them to exchange still more valuable and useful experience with their Soviet counterparts. We have views and aspirations in common, and the processes of renewal in the mass media in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union run in the same direction and are in a dialectic unity, Mr Boyan Traykov emphasises. He goes on to say that things being so, the cooperation between the news organisations in the two countries should also be renewed and restructured.

The article says that next month the Secretariats of the Bulgarian and of the Soviet Journalists Unions will hold a joint meeting.

Difference of Interests Within LCY Noted

AU0505194088 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 4 May p 2

[Report by Velizar Enchev, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Belgrade: "Disputed Unity or Balance of Interests?"]

[Text] When it was announced at the beginning of the year that the LCY conference, which had been scheduled for March had been postponed to May, many voices called for more realism in what was expected from this party forum. This was because the postponement indicated again that the differences within the LCY over the ways of solving the socioeconomic crisis are far more serious than had been assumed.

This was also evident in the first commentaries on the Theses of the LCY Central Committee, which some articles evaluated as "repeating well-known elements." In this particular case the criticism was related to the failure of the LCY to implement many of its own decisions so far, and, most of all, the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

What are the most important problems which the LCY is facing now, and which represent an additional factor in the crisis of the federation? Deteriorated relations among the nationalities, and primarily the continuing tense situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo, are constant themes of party discussions. The LC of Serbia is maintaining that the all-Yugoslav program on stabilizing the situation and stopping the expatriation of Serb and Montenegrins from Kosovo is not being implemented generally but sporadically, and even then it is being resisted by responsible officials. At the beginning of the month, three party leaders of Serbian origin resigned from the political leadership of the autonomous province because of serious violations in conducting cadre policy. Similar problems also exist in other republics. Thus, very long and tense polemics emerge, which will hardly end at the LCY conference.

The different attitudes which exist in the LCY toward working out a program of reform in the economic system is another important matter. While the developed Yugoslav republics (the SR of Slovenia and the SR of Croatia) are gradually being aligned toward so-called contractual economics, the defenders of centralized planning propose to improve the existing models. The efforts of the federal government to construct a uniform Yugoslav market continue to encounter opposition from most of the republics, which are stubbornly defending the established positions in their territories.

The SR of Serbia and the SR of Slovenia are most outspoken in expressing the differences in the LCY. Recently, relations between the political institutions of the two republics have been tense because of critical articles in the Slovenian youth press, which impinged on the authority of the Yugoslav People's Army, and which have been subsequently described as "nationalistic and counterrevolutionary." Different views of the scope of the political and economic reforms exist in these republics.

Thus, it is very questionable whether the mutually accepted balance of interests of the federal units is not a better solution than the fragile and often disputed unity. The critics of this balance think that the disunity in the LCY has a negative impact on the socioeconomic development, and in the final account it leads to the federalization of the party itself. This is because if every republican party puts its own interests above the all-Yugoslav interests, the crisis will not end but, on the contrary, will exacerbate.

Joint Working Groups To Meet with Turkey
AU0505191188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] BTA has released an announcement made by a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which reads as follows:

Meetings of joint Bulgarian-Turkish working groups will be held in the coming days in Sofia and Ankara, dealing with political and economic issues. They were established in accordance with a Bulgarian-Turkish protocol signed on 25 February 1988 in Belgrade, aimed at searching for and finding mutually acceptable decisions for the normalization and development of bilateral relations.

The joint working groups will be under the leadership of Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, on the Bulgarian side, and by (Yuskheth Kandemir), first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Turkey, as well by Minister Khristo Khristov, on the Bulgarian side, and (Tansud Blega), deputy minister of foreign affairs on economic questions of Turkey, on the Turkish side.

The Bulgarian side will also actively and constructively participate in the forthcoming talks in order to find specific solutions to the problems existing in bilateral relations between the two countries which, in recent years, suffered a setback because of Turkey's incorrect attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Bulgaria and to raise nonexistent questions about some kind of so-called Turkish minority and about an emigration agreement.

As is known, the first of the so-called problems has never been an object of discussion between the two countries, and the second, having been exhausted, was eliminated from our bilateral relations in accordance with a mutual agreement between the leaders of the two countries which was expressed in a joint announcement released for the press on the visit of the Turkish President to Bulgarian in 1982.

The forthcoming meetings in Sofia and Ankara are of great importance for seeking methods for the further development of Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The Bulgarian side thinks that, if the meetings take place in a constructive spirit of goodwill, on the basis of existing realities, and without attempts to interfere in each other's domestic affairs, then the talks of the two joint working groups are likely to produce specific results to the benefit of good-neighborly relations and understanding between Bulgaria and Turkey, in the interest of peace, security, and stability in the Balkan peninsula, the announcement of the representative of the Foreign Affairs Ministry reads.

Assembly Commission Hears Balkan Meeting Report
AU0605101788 Sofia BTA in English
1726 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 6 (BTA)—The Foreign Policy Commission with the National Assembly listened to the information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs read by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, on the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan Countries in Belgrade, in February.

The commission is of the opinion that the Belgrade meeting has been an important event in the development of the situation in the Balkans. It was stressed that this political forum gave expression to the will and readiness of the Balkan countries to go on the road of strengthening of confidence, good-neighbour relations and cooperation between them. Undoubtedly the meeting contributes to the struggle for deepening of the positive tendencies in the international life, for building of a peaceful world without any violence.

The commission recommended to the departments and organizations which carry out tasks on the all-Balkan cooperation, to activate their work, focusing their attention on the preparation and successful holding of the forthcoming meetings, which have been agreed upon in Belgrade.

The commission discussed the report of the leadership of the Committee for the Bulgarians Abroad and supported its activity for maintaining of the contacts with the Bulgarians living abroad and their descendants who have preserved their patriotic feelings to their motherland. It was noted that the improvement of the international conditions and the restructuring and innovation underway in this country provide conditions for broadening of these contacts.

Zhivkov, Yotov Speak on Marx Anniversary
AU0505201588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1730 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] A festive meeting was held in Sofia today to mark the 170th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism, and the brilliant scholar and revolutionary.

The audience attending the meeting welcomed Comrade Todor Zhivkov with exceptional cordiality and prolonged applause. Members and candidate members of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee took their seats together with him in the honorary presidium.

Comrade Yordan Yotov read a report in which he pointed out the everlasting, historic importance of the revolutionary achievements accomplished by Karl Marx who, together with Friedrich Engels, his worthy fellow-worker, transformed socialism from a utopian theory into a science and provided the workers class with a revolutionary world outlook.

Socialism today, as a theory, a movement, and a social system, is accomplishing a restructuring process of decisive importance for socialism itself and for the whole world, the speaker stressed. In the immortal cause of Karl Marx, socialism today finds the most correct method of attaining the communist future.

The speaker ended by pointing out that the historic cause in which we are involved today in order to develop our motherland into a highly civilized socialist state is the essence of our loyalty to the thoughts and cause of Karl Marx, and to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Politburo Adopts New Ecological Policy
AU0505192588 Sofia BTA in English
1813 GMT 5 May 88

["Resolution" of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee on New Ecological Policy, released on 5 May 1988]

[Text] Sofia, May 5 (BTA)—National program for environment conservation till the year 2000 and after that will be adopted in Bulgaria, reads the Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP which has been released for publication here. As a chief result of the party policy

in the sphere of environment conservation the document stresses the establishing of basis for solution of ecological problems on a qualitatively new level.

The document points out that along with certain inevitable problems of environment conservation accompanying techno-scientific revolution in this country, there are also some ecological problems which have emerged as a result of noncomprehensive solution of the issues. The production of equipments and technologies for environment preservation has not been developed to the necessary degree, offenders have been treated with tolerance

The resolution of the Politburo points out that the radical restructuring in the environment conservation activity must become a task of primary importance for the entire society. Special attention is paid to the need of overall ecologization of the material production, for rational utilization of natural resources, for comprehensive resolution of the ecological problems with a view to the long-term interests of society.

The Politburo thinks it expedient that on the basis of the present Ministry of Agriculture and Forests and the committee for environment conservation a ministry of land, forests and environment conservation should be established as a state body for implementation of the new ecological policy. The Politburo recommends: to enhance the economic approaches and means of management of the overall environment conservation activity and to improve the legal basis through the development of a new law for preservation and reproduction of environment.

The document stresses Bulgaria's active contribution to the building of a system for ecological security of the peoples, in the frameworks of the C.M.E.A., as well as in a number of international environment preservation organizations. In this connection the resolution recalls Mr Todor Zhivkov's ideas for the signing of an agreement for ecological protection of the Balkans and for the holding of European Ecoforum in Bulgaria. The document notes that at present a system for cooperation in the sphere of ecology with the neighbouring socialist Romania is being developed. It is also pointed out that it is necessary to widen and deepen on a qualitatively new basis the coordinated activity with the Soviet Union and the other C.M.E.A. member-states in the sphere of ecology.

Leaders Public Appearances 21-29 Apr

AU0505162188 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 23-29 April monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended the festive meeting held in Sofia on 21 April to mark the 118th anniversary of Lenin's birth: Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, and Vasil Tsanov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Apr 88 p 1)

The following leaders attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Lenin Monument in Sofia on 22 April: Grisha Filipov, Dobri Dzhurov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Markov, Nacho Papazov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Apr 88 p 2)

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Yordanov, and Dimitur Stanishev attended a reception given by Vaclav Janousek, CSSR ambassador, at the CSSR Embassy in Sofia on 22 April to mark the 40th anniversary of the signing of the friendship treaty between Bulgaria and the CSSR. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Apr 88 p 2)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, took part in the 16th All-Army BCP Conference in Sofia on 26 April and made a greetings speech. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Apr 88) In Sofia on 29 April he spoke at a meeting of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Supreme Council. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Apr 88)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 25 April Mohammad 'Ali Farmanbar, ambassador of Afghanistan to Bulgaria, at his request. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 25 Apr 88) In Sofia on 26 April he attended the National Day reception at the Afghan Embassy. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Apr 88)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia 24 April for Kabul with a delegation to take part in the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Apr 88) In Kabul he was received on 27 April by Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and Afghan Prime Minister Sultan 'Ali Keshmand, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 27 Apr 88) and on 28 April met with Politburo member Najmuddin Kawiani. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 28 Apr 88)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, also took part in the 16th All-Army BCP Conference held in Sofia on 26 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Apr 88)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chaired a meeting of the National Assembly's Socioeconomic Development Commission that reviewed direct contacts by economic organizations with CEMA countries. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 88)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, received in Sofia on 26 April an SFRY ecology delegation led by Mito Micajkov, chairman of the SFRY Environmental Protection and Development Federation. (Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 1) He spoke at a working conference of the Fatherland Front municipal organizations held in Sofia on 29 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 29 Apr 88)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, departed on 28 April from Sofia for Warsaw on an official friendly visit. (Sofia BTA in English 0708 GMT 28 Apr 88) In Warsaw on 29 April he was received by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. (Sofia BTA in English 1521 GMT 29 Apr 88) Mladenov returned to Sofia from Warsaw on 29 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 29 Apr 88)

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, took part in a session of the National Assembly's Environmental Protection Commission in Sofia on 25 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 25 Apr 88)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a Yemeni Socialist Party delegation during their visit to Bulgaria from 16 through 24 April. (Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 24 Apr 88)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, departed from Sofia for Washington on 23 April with economic officials on a working visit. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Apr 88 p 2) On 24 April he arrived in Washington, (Sofia BTA in English 0922 GMT 25 Apr 88) and on 25 April held talks there with U.S. Secretary of Commerce William Verity, and also engaged in other activities. (Sofia BTA in English 1017 GMT 26 Apr 88) In Washington on 26 April Lukanov met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. (Sofia BTA in English 0935 GMT 27 Apr 88)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Sofi on 28 April with an Uruguay Communist Party delegation led by Gandi Burbano. (Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 28 Apr 88)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, departed from Sofia for Belgrade on 24 April

with a BCP Central Committee delegation for talks with the LCY on the 1988-89 cooperation plan between the parties. (Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 24 Apr 88)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also attended the national day reception at the Afghan Embassy in Sofia on 26 April. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Apr 88)

Prague on Urban Conference; Strike Arrests

LD0505141288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1300 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Recently we have heard a lot about Poland where strikes at the metallurgy works in Krakow and in the Gdansk shipyards are threatening the basic interests of the inhabitants and the national economy. Could you give us the latest news about the situation in the country?

[Unidentified speaker] According to information from the press spokesman of the Polish Interior Ministry, forces of order [Poradkove sily] entered the metallurgy works in the Krakow district of Nowa Huta during the night and led out the organizers of the illegal strike. Among them were also some people who are not employees of the works. The strike organizers made no resistance and the members of the forces of order did not make use of means of compulsion [donucovacich prostredku]. The question does arise, however: Who are the people who, although not employees of the metallurgy works, were nevertheless detained there? They are representatives of the disbanded so-called Solidarity, who are trying to make use of the economic problems of Poland to cause chaos and to formulate political demands, in particular the legalization of the political structures of former Solidarity. As the daily TRYBUNA LUDU emphasized, wage increases become simply an excuse for these people and a good opportunity for acts which weaken the socialist state.

Further on Results of Jakes' Romanian Visit

AU0405133288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Apr 88 p 7

[Miloslav Vitek commentary in the "We Comment" column: "At a Higher Level"]

[Text] This is the year of the 20th anniversary of the CSSR-Romanian Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance—during the 1-day friendly working visit paid by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to the SR of Romania, this was stressed several times.

Facts show that the broad cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres of the social life of the people in both countries has markedly increased, particularly during the last few years. What is perhaps even more important, we are not merely sticking to accepted forms, but are changing and improving them, so as to make them correspond best to the present demands.

In 1985 the Long-Term Program for Developing Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Between the CSSR and the SR of Romania Through the Year 2000 was signed at the highest level; today we can say that the highest foreign trade turnover ever achieved by our two countries occurred during the last 2 years. Last year it amounted to R651 million; according to the

protocol on trade cooperation in 1988, this year it should reach R720 million. On the domestic market, all these accords and their implementation directly concern Czechoslovak citizens, both as producers and as consumers. This will be even more true after the restructuring of our economic mechanism is completed. For our enterprises, Romania is a customer that is interested in certain products of Czechoslovakia's engineering and electronics industry, in traditional commodities such as textile machinery and equipment, Tatra chassis and towing vehicles, metalworking machines, construction and road construction machinery; or modern industrial robots, electric parts, and playback technology.

As a consumer, the Czechoslovak citizen is looking forward to 12,000 Olcit automobiles, 1,000 Dacia automobiles, and 1,000 ARO terrain vehicles, which should appear on our market this year; to the traditional deliveries of fresh vegetables and fruit; and to the mutual exchange of commodities. As a producer, he feels good about the deliveries of certain Romanian industrial goods, such as front-drive axles for tractors, assembly modules for the power industry, metallurgical equipment, and so forth.

The negotiations conducted by Comrades Ceausescu and Jakes have also shown that (despite the positive development of our economic cooperation) we still have untapped reserves, above all in higher, progressive forms of economic activity, and that it is above all necessary to increase mutual deliveries of goods on the basis of contracts on cooperation and specialization in production. Further agreements will therefore be added to those already concluded in engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, technical industries, and other spheres. The general secretaries of the two parties also agreed that the two governments should work out a joint timetable for further deepening cooperation and specialization in production.

The talks conducted by Comrades Jakes and Ceausescu naturally concerned cooperation on a broad scale, and yielded ideas for improving and expanding it. At the same time, they emphasized the efforts to develop multilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation within the CEMA framework, and interest in developing mutually advantageous relations between CEMA and the EEC.

Our two countries are vitally interested in the peaceful development of the world, and support the steps and initiatives that promote it. There is no doubt that the basic issue is to halt the arms race and go over to disarmament (above all nuclear disarmament). The signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles should be followed by new agreements, aimed at limiting strategic offensive arms, averting feverish armament in space,

and negotiating many further issues leading to disarmament, the consolidation of trust, and the development of cooperation for peace on a European and worldwide scale.

The partial initiatives of many countries are also contributing to this. That is why there is complete mutual support for the proposals to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact of the two military-political groupings, to create a corridor free of nuclear and chemical arms in central Europe, to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and of alien military bases and units, and to convene a meeting of the heads of states and governments in this area.

Comrade Milos Jakes' visit to the SR of Romania was short, but every hour spent in fruitful discussion with the top Romanian representative, or in getting acquainted with the results of the Romanian people's work, was immensely useful—above all for consolidating mutual relations and further developing cooperation at a higher level.

Strougal To Visit Brazil in 'Next Few Days'
LD040522288 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Lubomir Strougal is to make an official visit to Brazil in the next few days at the invitation of Jose Sarney, president of the Federative Republic of Brazil. In the context of that visit, Lubomir Strougal today received Carlos Eduardo Duarte de Alves de Souza, the Brazilian ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and discussed with him the program for his stay in Brazil and the topics of the talks.

Tomasek on Vatican-Government Talks
AU0605101588 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 6 May 88 p 3

[Text] Prague (APA)—“We have received only little of what we hoped for,” Prague Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek said yesterday, referring to the results of the negotiations between a Vatican delegation and representatives of the CSSR Government.

The talks that have been concluded over the past few days were intended to settle open questions between state and church in the CSSR. “There has been some progress, but only in small, very small steps,” the primate said, expressing the disappointment of his hopes for substantial progress in the negotiations.

Cardinal Tomasek stated that in a letter to CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal he has again pointed out the urgent requests of the CSSR church to the state.

In this letter Tomasek also referred to a petition calling for complete freedom of religion that has already been signed by more than 600,000 citizens.

Visiting FRG's Rau Speaks on Cooperation
AU0505075388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
29 Apr 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: “Significance of CPCZ-SPD Dialogue; Comrade Milos Jakes Receives Johannes Rau”]

[Excerpts] Prague—This Thursday [28 April] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia, who has come to the CSSR for the Information Day on Economy and Technology of the FRG Federal Province of North Rhine-Westphalia. [passage omitted]

On the same day, J. Rau was received by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Also on the same day, the North Rhine-Westphalia Information Day was opened in the Intercontinental Hotel in Prague. This event is typical of the dynamically developing cooperation between the CSSR and this federal province of the FRG. [passage omitted] The extensive bilateral negotiations that are to contribute toward expanding mutual trade contacts were part and parcel of this event. Last year the FRG exported DM2.4 billion worth of goods to Czechoslovakia; more than one-third of this total was accounted for by North Rhine-Westphalia.

In addressing the representatives of Czechoslovak and West German firms, J. Rau stated that East-West relations have recently taken a positive turn. The talks conducted by politicians have become more frank, they lack the former prejudices. Projects such as the Information Day are helping to improve mutual relations, because better cooperation also means better information.

He also recalled that, in a sense, his province was a pioneer of developing good-neighborly relations between the CSSR and FRG, and pointed out certain results achieved to date in cooperating in environmental protection. He expressed appreciation for the work of the FRG-Czechoslovak Society.

He then stated that today one must look for new forms of economic cooperation. The enterprises of North Rhine-Westphalia could be interesting partners for the Czechoslovak production base, above all in its modernization efforts, because in many sectors (such as the production of desulfurizing facilities) they are the best in the world. J. Rau pointed out the significant role played by medium-scale enterprises, which are more flexible in innovation and modernization work and should therefore become far more involved in cooperation with Czechoslovakia.

The conditions for this cooperation are good, he stressed. They can be even more improved by doing away with our traditional picture of the enemy, by a broader exchange of scientific-technical knowledge and of experts, and by specific, frank, constructive talks between our political representatives. During my brief visit to one of the most beautiful European cities I, too, will personally strive to conduct such talks, he said.

Press Conference [subhead]

At his press conference, J. Rau expressed satisfaction with his visit and with the scope of his talks with Czechoslovak officials, talks which culminated in his being received by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium. They discussed relations between the CSSR and FRG and between North Rhine-Westphalia and Czechoslovakia, as well as the international situation.

After a period of relatively subdued mutual trade, the minister-president stated, we now see signs of improving development here. In this context, he announced that a consortium of seven firms will be established, mainly to deal with the technology of desulfurizing waste gases and with other technologies for environmental protection—a field suited to very good cooperation.

J. Rau expressed the conviction that the contacts with Czechoslovak enterprises established by 40 North Rhine-Westphalian businessmen during the Prague talks would lead to the growth in mutual trade in the immediate future.

He stated that substantial changes have taken place in our political life since his last visit, and that he is also interested in the current and planned economic reforms, in the disbanding of certain ministries, the flow of information between the government and enterprises, the status of enterprises and their decisionmaking opportunities, and the process of developing the democratization of enterprises and of society.

Asked by RUDE PRAVO about the Jakes plan for creating a zone of trust along the line of contact between the two military groupings, he replied that this idea (which calls forth a positive reaction, and the elements of which will have to be thoroughly discussed with other states) was discussed at the Foreign Ministry and with the party general secretary. According to J. Rau, it involves a most momentous issue, one also connected with the proposals to create zones free of nuclear and chemical arms, which are favorably regarded by the SPD. This issue is also being discussed by the general public in the FRG.

Jakes Greets Luxembourg, Cypriot Leaders
AU0505104888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Apr 88 p 1

["(Z)"]-signed report: "On Their Election to Office"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent Rene Urbany a congratulatory telegram on the latter's election to the office of chairman

of the Communist Party of Luxembourg (PCL). In the telegram he expressed appreciation of the high level of cooperation between CPCZ and CPL, which is helping the development of friendly relations between the people of the two countries and contributing to the cause of socialism, peace, and social progress.

Comrade Milos Jakes sent a congratulatory telegram to Dhimitrios Khristofias on the latter's election to the office of general secretary of AKEL, the Restorative Party of the Working People (Cyprus). In the telegram he expressed the conviction that the comradely cooperation between CPCZ and AKEL, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of socialism and friendship between the people of the two countries.

Further Reportage on Japan's Abe Visit

Husak Wants Closer Economic Ties
OW0405192088 Tokyo KYODO in English
1255 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Prague, May 4 KYODO—Czechoslovakian President Gustav Husak on Wednesday urged Japan to translate its economic power into political contributions, and called for stronger economic ties between the two nations.

Japanese officials said Husak also told Shintaro Abe, secretary general of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, he intends to open the doors wide to economic cooperation with Western nations and Japan as part of the nation's economic reforms.

Abe responded that the two countries have room to deepen relations at various levels, the officials said.

Following the meeting, Abe attended a luncheon hosted by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek prior to leaving for Budapest, the second and final stop on his official visit to Eastern Europe.

Meets With Chnoupek
LD0505044988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2200 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpts] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, has had a meeting in Prague Castle with a group of deputies of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party headed by Shintaro Abe, its general secretary. [passage omitted]

Prior to their departure by air the Japanese guests were also received by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Departs 4 May

LD0405194988 Prague CTK in English
1710 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and Japanese Liberal Democratic Party General Secretary Shintaro Abe appreciated here today the positive trends in Czechoslovak-Japanese relations as a good basis for the further expansion of contacts and cooperation.

The two representatives stressed that the development of mutually advantageous cooperation of states with different social systems contributes to the creation of an atmosphere of confidence, relaxation of international tension and improvement of the situation in general.

Later in the day the Japanese representative ended his visit to Czechoslovakia and left the country.

'Assistance' for DPRK Festival Discussed

AU0405133688 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
30 Apr 88 p 2

["KJK"-signed report: "Session of the Central Committee Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At its session yesterday, the Central Committee Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] discussed, among other things, the current state and composition of the membership base of the SSM and of the SSM Pioneer Organization and the course of preparations for the Fourth Session of the SSM Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At the same time it discussed work progress on the construction of the "Julius Fucik" children's and youth center in Nicaragua and the manner of ensuring material assistance for and Czechoslovak participation in the 13th World Youth and Student Festival in the DPRK in 1989.

In conclusion, the session assessed some organizational issues and cadre proposals.

Chnoupek Visit to Egypt Viewed

AU0405143288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 May 88 p 6

[Boris Latta commentary: "For Trust, Cooperation, and Friendship"]

[Excerpts] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, paid an official visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt last week. Our representative's talks in Cairo were held at a time when Egypt, as an advocate of a just and comprehensive solution of the conflict in the Near and Middle East, is stepping up its political activity. [passage omitted]

Cairo's realistic assessment of the international situation and its constructive approach to the expansion and intensification of relations between states on the basis of equality and noninterference in internal affairs has found its concrete expression, for example, in improved mutual relations between Egypt and socialist states, particularly in the economic sphere. This has been demonstrated by the visit of a high-level Soviet delegation to Egypt last May and by the signing of agreements on new terms of repayment for Egyptian debts and on future trade exchange, as well as by the results of the talks conducted by B. Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, in Cairo last week.

Let us take a closer look at the results of the visit and, generally, at the current state and prospects of developing Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations. The traditions of relations between Czechoslovakia and Egypt are an integral part of our country's long-standing and mutually advantageous contacts with Arab states. Evidence of the continuous advancement of these relations in the last decades is furnished by Czechoslovakia's part in the industrialization of several Arab countries, especially Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Algeria, Libya, and Yemen, where jointly constructed industrial plants and other facilities, including agricultural projects, have become durable monuments of Czechoslovak-Arab friendship.

The effort to continue to develop cooperation and to intensify the assertion of new forms of this cooperation also fully applies to our contacts with Egypt. As is also stated in the final communique, both sides are interested in the implementation of higher forms of economic cooperation, such as joint ventures and cooperation on third markets. A positive role in this regard will undoubtedly be played by, among other things, the agreement on cooperation between the Association of Egyptian Entrepreneurs and the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Another positive contribution on the road to better knowledge of one another and to familiarization with life in the two countries will be the reopening of the CSSR General Consulate in Alexandria and of the Czechoslovak Cultural Center in Cairo. As Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, wrote in his message to President H. Mubarak, "The visit by the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs is new proof of bilateral interest in giving a fresh boost to the development of our relations in all fields and of the importance that we attach to the development of political dialogue on questions that concern the vital interests of both our countries and are closely connected with the general development of the international situation."

The new approaches and new thinking in the sphere of foreign policy that have been characteristic of Egypt's policy in the last couple of years are, of course, and in the eyes of reactionary circles in the West, especially in the United States. It is a bitter pill to swallow, even for the Zionist circles in Israel. [passage omitted] The Egyptian daily AL-VAFD has even reported that some Israeli

Knesset deputies called on the Israeli Government "to reassess its attitude toward Egypt." It is to be expected that Tel Aviv will step up its attacks in this respect.

The Egyptian political leadership—as can also be seen from remarks made by the Egyptian President during the reception of B. Chnoupek in his residence in the Cairo district of Heliopolis—continues to pursue the path it has embarked upon of political dialogue on key problems of the present, in an endeavor to devote all its energy to the quest for the preservation of world peace and the solution of regional conflicts and other burning problems of contemporary world. As the Egyptian President stressed in this context, an important factor is the establishing of trust, cooperation, and friendship in relations between states and peoples. This was also the motto of the Egyptian-Czechoslovak talks in Cairo last week. At the same time, it is a reply to the attempts of reactionary circles in the West, including Israel, to lead Egypt astray, away from the path it has embarked upon.

More on Mozambican Foreign Minister's Visit

Confers in Prague

AU0405195888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 May 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak-Mozambican Talks; Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi Received by Comrades Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, and Vasil Bilak; Negotiations With Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who is currently on a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia, in Prague on Monday [2 May]. [passage omitted]

Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, who also holds the office of Central Committee secretary of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) for international issues, was also received by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary. The two representatives evaluated the present level of cooperation between the two parties and assessed specific steps for developing it further.

Talks between Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek and P. Manuel Mocumbi were held in Cernin Palace on the same day. They were conducted in a comradely and friendly atmosphere, and showed a full concurrence of views on international-political issues and on the further development of cooperation between the two countries.

The ministers stated that CSSR-Mozambican contacts are developing successfully, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and on the foundations of the principles of equality, mutual respect, friendship, and mutually advantageous cooperation. We

are jointly striving to strengthen peace and international security, to do away with all hotbeds of tension, and to achieve total and general disarmament.

Our mutual contacts are based on the cooperation between the CPCZ and FRELIMO, which is being developed according to the third treaty in succession on cooperation (which was signed by Comrade Milos Jakes in Maputo in December 1986). The contacts between social organizations, and particularly between trade union, youth union, and women's organizations, are also becoming more profound.

The successful development of contacts in the political sphere is also establishing good foundations for the development of contacts in culture, education, science, and medical care. Similarly, positive results have been achieved in the economic and commercial spheres. When appraising the international situation, the two ministers found complete concurrence on the most important issues. B. Chnoupek stated that a radical breakthrough has not yet been achieved in international relations, although the positive trends in these relations have intensified, but the armament process still continues and there is an exacerbation of certain regional conflicts—this particularly applies to southern Africa, to the Middle East, and to the Iraq-Iran conflict. He said that Czechoslovakia is making determined efforts to improve the international situation, stressing in this context the significance of Milos Jakes' proposal on the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states. He expressed thanks for the support for this initiative that was voiced by Mozambique and by its foreign minister personally.

P. Manuel Mocumbi expressed his appreciation of Czechoslovakia's peace policy and of the proposal made by the socialist countries to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security, stressing in this context the significance of Czechoslovakia's initiative for the creation of a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

In assessing the dangerous development in southern Africa, the two ministers resolutely condemned the Republic of South Africa's regime of apartheid, which is escalating brutality against its adversaries, continuing the unlawful occupation of Namibia, and (by its aggressive, destabilization policy) threatening the independent states in the area. They affirmed solidarity with the just struggle of the sole legitimate representatives of South African and Namibian people—the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO)—and spoke in favor of adopting mandatory UN sanctions against the racist Republic of South Africa and in favor of the immediate independence of Namibia, in line with UN Security Council Resolution No. 435 of 1978.

On behalf of the government and people of Mozambique, Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi expressed appreciation for the Czechoslovak people's solidarity and support for the just struggle of the peoples in southern Africa. [passage omitted]

Federal Assembly Approves Agreements
LD0605140188 Prague CTK in English
1240 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Prague May 4 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) approved four international and bilateral agreements on the second and final day of its session today.

The first document was the convention on assistance in the case of a nuclear accident or radiological emission, signed in Vienna in September 1986.

The convention contains the principles of non-interference, peaceful solution of international disputes and international cooperation. It is based on the conclusions of the special 30th general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1986.

The convention is the third document by which Czechoslovakia affirms its interest in the solution of the problems of safety and reliability of the nuclear power industry and environmental protection, after a 1987 convention on the physical protection of nuclear materials and a bilateral accord with Austria concerning questions of common interest connected with nuclear facilities, which has been in force for two years.

Another document approved by the Federal Assembly was the convention on the system of assessing and certifying the quality of mutually delivered products, signed at a session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Moscow on October 14, 1987. The signatories were the prime ministers of Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union and Vietnam. Yugoslavia initialled it.

Under this document, the above mentioned states will set up a unified system of mutually recognized testing authorities using unified standards and authorized to check mutually exchanged goods. Tests by the authority of one state will be recognized by the other states.

The Federal Assembly approved a Czechoslovak-Polish agreement on legal assistance and adjustment of legal relations in civic, family, labour and criminal affairs, signed on December 21, 1987. An expose on the agreement was presented by Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

He noted that relations between the two countries have recently been marked by unprecedented development. They have been favourably influenced by the process of restructuring, introduction of economic reforms and

promotion of socialist democracy in both countries. Changes in social superstructure must correspond to the rate of economic cooperation.

The Czechoslovak-Polish agreement defines the conditions of cooperation between the two states' bodies in settling the legal affairs of citizens.

The Federal Assembly also ratified Convention No. 160 of the International Labour Organization on labour statistics.

New Prague Party Leader Addresses Conference
AU291209 Prague VECERNI PRAHA
in Czech 25 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report on a speech by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ city committee, at the CPCZ municipal district conference in Prague-9, held on 23-24 April]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The present and the past of this municipal district, its revolutionary traditions, must make us ponder more deeply all the things that we have not done for it thus far. Many possibilities and prospects, but also many problems, are concentrated here. Individual speeches made at this conference confirm that this municipal district not only needs, but above all, deserves that its production facilities yield major national economic effect. But it also needs and deserves that its workers environment not be associated just with the image of smoke, bad living environment, inadequate public amenities, and so forth. This fact must not be tolerated. Political support in the period to come will be geared, among other things, to making sure that not only the earnings, but also the conditions of life in this municipal district match the standard of the end of the 20th century. The reconstruction of the heart of Vysočany [industrial part of the ninth municipal district of Prague] started recently. I would like to assure you that we will assume a position of principle on this issue, not only verbally, but with practical deeds. We want people in this part of Prague to lead truly contented lives. There are still many functionaries at various levels who have grown accustomed to hiding behind the workers class and to abusing its standing in society; to giving workers jovial pats on the back and to ostentatious handshakes. However, respect for workers policy primarily means that workers' views, experiences, proposals, and demands get to where decisions on these matters are made. This requires a frank, honest, workers talk that is committed to the party line and has nothing in common with demagoguery.

In another part of his speech Comrade Stepan dealt with the forms of party work in the period of restructuring, which requires that Communists proceed in unison and that they get rid of merely taking note of and commenting and mulling over the new tasks. The revolutionary nature of the times requires a comprehensive approach,

also to ensuring that party organizations, Communists, and workers collectives are at the center of the ongoing changes. A word of principle coming precisely from Prague-9 will be of tremendous importance for the general atmosphere in the capital.

In connection with this year's important anniversaries Comrade Stepan said, among other things, that questions from upright Communists are rightly turning up asking: What about the history of our party, country, and city, what about the blank spots in our history? It is not by coincidence that they ask similar questions, and it is not just young party members who ask them. With great interest they learn by the example of Soviet Communists, whose approach is a great encouragement also for us, and view restructuring as the only possible present option for socialism.

Comrade Stepan paid great attention to the immediate tasks confronting Prague, concerning, among other things, the reorganization of central and intermediary tiers of management. Connected with this is also the rapid return and turning over of buildings made vacant because of restructuring to their original purpose. The changes connected with their turning over to their former function, primarily their conversion to apartments, must be carried out consistently. The course of action should be published in VECERNI PRAHA and other information media and discussion in offices and behind closed doors should be reduced to a minimum. In the same way, Comrade Stepan said, we would like to concentrate on such questions as disorder in the housing economy. It is becoming apparent that many apartments are vacant. Proper use of the current housing stock and of apartments made vacant by reorganization could significantly contribute to solving the housing problems of Prague.

Among the broad range of problems which Comrade Stepan discussed, the attention of the participants in the conference was aroused also by his coming out in principle against negative manifestations in the capital—against the activity of criminal elements, black market money changers, and black marketeers. The people of Prague will surely support us in this. However, this struggle must be specific and it must involve the general participation of the public. [passage omitted]

Anti-Fascist Union Congress Opens 3 May

Lenart Address

LD0405033088 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1730 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] The 8th Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters opened today at the Palace of Culture in Prague. [passage omitted]

Among those who spoke in the debate today was Comrade Jozef Lenart, the head of the party and government delegation. In the opening passage of his speech he

thanked union members for their selfless work, which is aimed at maintaining and strengthening peace and educating citizens to be patriots and internationalists. In connection with the present-day tasks, he stressed that the restructuring of our society must be not only a restructuring of the ways we manage our affairs and husband our resources but also of the political influence on people, as was underlined at the 9th session of the party's Central Committee. Comrade Lenart then went on to say, among other things:

[Begin Lenart recording in Slovak] A businesslike attitude, patience, courage, and due deliberation are exactly what we need now and what we shall need also in the future in political educational work, especially among young people. It has been confirmed that joint direct and concrete activity in explaining and documenting the history of the struggle against fascism in individual regions, direct contacts with those who witnessed these events, leave an enduring mark in the minds and hearts of young people. This is the right course that you have embarked upon in cooperation with the Socialist Union of Youth and its Pioneer organization. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Jakes Receives Union Chief

LD0405221588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Today Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee, received the Presidium of the Federal Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union led by Frantisek Miseje, chairman of the Union's Federal Central Committee.

Frantisek Miseje briefed Milos Jakes on the course and results of the Eighth Congress of the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union and conveyed to him the greetings of the congress participants. He expressed the union members' unequivocal support for the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee, and spoke highly of the assistance which the party and its Central Committee continued to provide for the Union's work. At the same time he stressed that the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union would continue to devote all its future activity to implementing the tasks of restructuring and democratizing the life of society. Through its participation in the patriotic and internationalist education of young people and all citizens and its efforts aimed at preserving world peace in particular, he stated that the union intended to contribute to executing the strategy of the 17th party congress.

Milos Jakes expressed his gratitude for the greetings and highlighted the work carried out by the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union, as a part of the National Front, in keeping with its mission in the current challenging period in which the CPCZ was focusing all society's efforts on speeding up socioeconomic development in our country. He commended the fact that the

union, by its political education work, familiarized the public with the period of the antifascist national liberation struggle and the campaign for Czechoslovakia's socialist development, and linked that bequest with today's tasks. Milos Jakes stressed that it was necessary to further this activity by using all the experience accumulated to date and, in this context, to pay primary attention to young people. The union's members who have lived through the horrors of the war on the fronts, in partisan units, in the home resistance, in the concentration camps, and fascist prisons were in the front ranks of the active participants of February 1948 and the builders of socialism in our country, he added. Consequently in their work with young people they were able to do a great deal to explain in a convincing way the revolutionary essence of our modern history. In this connection the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union had an irreplaceable role, he pointed out.

Comrade Jakes went on to draw attention to the union's important involvement in the peace movement. The task of the union and of the other public organizations affiliated to the Czechoslovak National Front, he said, was to contribute to explaining the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and the other socialist countries to avert the threat of nuclear war and establish a comprehensive system of international security. We highly appreciate the worth of members of the resistance, Comrade Milos Jakes stated. That was why the party, together with the state bodies, was striving to create favorable conditions for the further development of social and health provision for members of the resistance. Linked with this was the adoption of social measures in the sphere of transportation and communications which took effect from 1 May this year, as well as the proposed amendments to the pensions of participants in the resistance, which were part of the pensions bill. In keeping with the possibilities of our economy, Comrade Jakes stated, we intend to continue to improve this system of social and health care as an expression of our society's appreciation of everything that those who fought against fascism had done for it.

Milos Jakes wound up by wishing the members of the Czechoslovak Antifascist Fighters' Union every success in fulfilling the conclusions of their eighth congress, and assured its leading officials that the CPCZ and the state bodies would continue to support the union in its creditable activity.

More Party District Conferences Evaluated

AU291151 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 and 26 April carries on pages 1, 2, and 3, and 3 and 4 respectively, a two-part, 27,000-word roundup of reports on the district and municipal district conferences of the CPCZ and CPSL, held in the Czech and Slovak SR's on 23-24 April. The roundup is entitled "Continuing on the Road of Restructuring, Democratization, and the Party's Firm Ties With the People."

In its issue of 25th the paper begins with a Prague-dated unattributed report which lists the districts and municipal districts where conferences were held, and the heads of CPCZ Central Committee delegations who attended them.

"The characteristic feature of the conferences was their frank, democratic, and businesslike atmosphere," the paper says. "Their deliberations reflected not only the contents of the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session, but also the way in which the session approached the solution of momentous tasks in further developing our socialist society."

"On the basis of critical analyses of the results achieved since the 17th CPCZ Congress, the conferences realistically evaluated the work of district and municipal district party organizations and the successes achieved in social and economic advancement, and frankly specified the shortcomings and untapped reserves in the accomplishment of society-wide tasks by Communists working in state, social, and economic agencies and organizations. They charged the Communists with the task of removing (with greater determination than heretofore) the problems which are upsetting our citizens and evoking justified criticism."

"Their deliberations were focused on the activities of party agencies and primary organizations under the conditions of restructuring. The reports of district and municipal district committees and the discussions of delegates dealt with measures for speeding up changes in the style, methods, and forms of party work, and with measures for enhancing the impact of the party's political-organizational, ideological, and mass political activities among the people. They emphasized the need to strengthen the role of primary party organizations, improve their activity, and approach the ensurance of tasks in their areas of operation in new ways. They stressed the demand that, in carrying out the restructuring, both party members and candidate members step up their activity and their political involvement in their working places, in public life, in the agencies and organizations of the National Front, in national committees, and in economy."

"When discussing the party's economic policy, the conferences emphasized the insurance of this year's plan and the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and the preparation of working collectives for the economic reform. They critically evaluated the Communists' work in those enterprises and plants that are not coping with the plan, pointing out shortcomings in management and organization, but also problems with the supplies of raw and other materials and with outdated machinery. In this context they stressed that party organizations should be more exacting in assessing the course pursued by economic executives and their results, while refraining from acting in place of these executives in their activities. From the viewpoint of preparations for the restructuring of our economic mechanism, both the reports of district and

municipal district party committees and the discussions underscored that it is essential to strengthen order and discipline in economic organizations, implement enterprise economic accountability, create conditions for expanding the brigade form of organizing labor and remuneration, and set up development programs for enterprises. Party agencies and organizations must be far more energetic than heretofore in their efforts to apply scientific and technical knowledge in production. The conference deliberations showed that production enterprises and the scientific-research base must be far more actively involved in the international socialist division of labor within the CEMA framework, in the expansion of cooperation and specialization of production, and in the establishment of direct contacts with partners in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries.

"The conferences deliberations devoted great attention to the content, forms, and methods of stepping up the working people's contribution to the administration and management of public affairs and to the development of socialist self-management. They stressed that the National Front and the social organizations gathered in it must be activated and the work of national committees improved, so as to make them contribute far more effectively toward satisfying the people's needs by improving the quality of services and medical care for the citizens, and improve trade standards and other areas (such as the environment). The Communists working in National Front organizations and national committees must play a decisive role in this.

"The conferences fully supported the coordinated peace efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist states to avert the threat of a nuclear catastrophe and reduce tension in the world," the paper says; "the delegates expressed the conviction that the realization of the proposal (made by CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes) to create a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO would also promote this goal."

"The conferences confirmed the CPCZ's ideological, organizational, and action unity. Their businesslike, critical, and self-critical collective deliberations and their responsible elaboration of the main guidelines for party work in the process of social restructuring in districts and municipal districts have established prerequisites for the effect of party agencies and organizations to consistently fulfill the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions."

In their discussion statements, the paper says, the delegation heads "stressed the significance of conference deliberations for a responsible and creative elaboration of conclusions adopted by the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions into specific measures, aimed at radically changing the content, style, and methods of work of the district and municipal district party organizations"; underscored that these organizations

must be able to work and decide independently, becoming the real political core of working collectives and strengthening in this way the party's leading role in restructuring; and emphasized that every Communist must be personally involved in creating a favorable atmosphere for successful restructuring.

After noting the impact of party work on economic results, the paper states, the delegation heads stressed the significance of task fulfillment for successful restructuring and for a speedy socioeconomic advancement, pointing out that "the development of the national economy and the fulfillment of the state plan during the first months of this year show that qualitative changes are taking shape far too slowly, that problems with the excessive consumption of raw and other materials, fuels, and energy persist, that the implementation of scientific and technical knowledge in practice is strikingly lagging, that production is irregular, and that we have problems with supplier-consumer relations. We have not succeeded in quickly changing the people's way of thinking and their attitude to work—they are still waiting for somebody else to resolve the problems. In the management sphere we must devote greater attention to subjective factors which affect the overall results."

The delegation heads are said to have called the "deepening of socialist democracy, the implementation of open policy, and the flow of information to the public the basic prerequisites of increasing the people's activity and participation both in management and administration and in decisions on issues connected with the development of society"; and to have stressed that "the restructuring of society places high demands on the party's political and ideological work. A turn must be achieved in the activity of party agencies and organizations toward enhancing the effect of ideological, educational, mass political, and political-organizational work and toward tightening the ties between the party and the people. In the struggle for new, creative, independent, and responsible thinking we must realize that if a person's conviction is robbed of creative activity, it will not yield specific results no matter how sincere it is. Likewise, ideological work must unmask far more energetically the intentions of hostile forces that are striving to cast doubts on restructuring in Czechoslovakia and to attribute to it completely different purposes." The delegation heads also stressed, the paper states, that the "restructuring efforts throughout the society are headed by the CPCZ—and it is precisely this application of the party's leading role that guarantees us that restructuring and democratization will lead toward the consolidation of our socialist society and develop the advantages and opportunities provided by it. "In analyzing the current international situation," the paper then says, "the heads of CPCZ Central Committee delegations emphasized the significance of new political thinking promoted by the Soviet Union in the solution of topical problems throughout the world, thinking which organically links socialism and peace with the prospects of mankind's development. Czechoslovakia fully supports this line

and it is energetically contributing (by voicing enterprising proposals) to the coordinated efforts of the socialist states to avert the threat of a nuclear war and to achieve disarmament, peace and progress in the world. In their statements the heads of CPCZ Central Committee delegations expressed the conviction that the district and municipal district conferences would offensively approach the realizations of adopted resolutions and actively contribute toward implementing the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions on the restructuring of our society.

"The conferences elected new CPCZ and CPSL district and municipal district committees and party control and auditing commissions. Quite a few conferences elected them by secret ballot," the report points out.

The "(EP)"-signed report on the Nymburk conference states, *inter alia*, that the delegates repeatedly mentioned the persistence of old forms of work (due to the people's inability to rapidly change habits even while recognizing the need to restructure); that the important plants in the district have still not made good the shortfalls in plan fulfillment left from the years 1985-86; that housing is a problem, that agricultural plants owe the procurement office 14,330 metric tons of grain, and that sugar beet production is unsatisfactory.

The report from Presov, signed "(JK)", says that the conference criticized the fact that many existing, and even new, plants in the district were equipped with obsolete machinery; and the treatment of "Robot, the first CSSR-USSR scientific-production association within CEMA," as though it were "of merely local significance."

The "(JAPE)"-signed report from Karlovy Vary quotes a delegate on the deplorable "narrowing down of restructuring to a purely economic affair; in the flood of words like *khozraschet* [Russian term used], electronization, or scientific-technical development, man and his problems simply disappear." And "(JT)" reports from Frydek-Mistek that the TESLA Trinec enterprise "was included in the economic experiment retroactively and the working people's collective had to learn about it from the daily press"; the report also states that 10 percent of the population of the district are Polish citizens.

The "(ZAN)"-signed report from Ziar nad Hronom notes that the negative trend in capital construction within the district has not ceased since the Sixth 5-Year Plan and is beginning to seriously affect industrial production; moreover, several planned ecological measures have not been carried out although the Ziar valley is seriously affected by industrial pollutants and, while the construction of the first water purification plant in the district is to start next year, a large part of Ziar city and most of its enterprises will still continue polluting the river Hron, the report states.

Reporting from Banska Bystrica, "(BK)" says that party punishments had been meted out to 200 CPSL members (for violations of party statutes and other acts) and 24 senior functionaries (for failing to accomplish economic and other tasks) during the last 2 years. It also quotes a delegate on the "mistake of omitting to promptly brief not only rank-and-file members, but even functionaries, on various domestic political and other events, thus making it difficult to prevent various, often maliciously exaggerated and rapidly spreading, rumors and misinformation."

Whereas the "(TIK)"-signed report from Chomutov quotes a delegate on "serious problems with the desulphurizing unit on one of the blocks of the Tusimice II Socialist Youth Union Electric Power Station," the "(BB)"-signed report from Jablonec nad Nisou speaks of problems in supplier-consumer relations, of the lack of raw materials, obsolete equipment, and wasted working hours; this, the report states, has led to party investigations (for instance, the deputy director for production in the ELEKTROPRAHA enterprise was taken off his post). The "(TAM, VT)"-signed report from Beroun says that people are asking how they are supposed to reconcile the call for initiative in applying new methods of management and party work with the obsolete bureaucratic regulations which continue to be valid; and the report from Rokycany, signed "(VP)," mentions problems with retaining foremen, who often quit their jobs because their work with the people is not properly appreciated. The dangerous passivity of certain party members and the inconsistency of certain organizations with regard to violations of the statute are noted by "(ZP)" in the report from Kutna Hora; and "RS" reports from Liberec on difficulties with persuading qualified people to accept positions of responsibility, because this means more duties for less pay.

In the issue of 26 April, "(MIS)" reports from Prague-7 district that some organizations approach their own work uncritically and obviously need constant guidance by higher party bodies—their ideological work is too formal, their mass political work is full of shortcomings, and their members meetings are not well attended.

"(MB)" reports from Zilina (*inter alia*) that the shortfall in gross production there amounts to more than Kcs38 million; "(JL)" reports from Olomouc that most enterprises in the district lack a clear concept of scientific-technical development, approach restructuring in a half-hearted and dilatory manner, and lack proper control by primary party organizations; and "(JZ)" reports from Považska Bystrica that the arrears in capital construction for the last 2 years amount there to Kcs134 million.

While the "(BL)"-signed report from Levice notes that the builders of the Mochovce power plant have had to "cope with aggravated conditions, connected with blueprint documentation, manpower shortage, and lack of machinery," the report from Znojmo, signed "(JC)," says that the people are leaving this "typical border

district" because of a "lack of service facilities and medical centers," because schools with too few classes are being closed down, and hardship "bonuses for border areas are not paid." In his report from Klatovy, "(AC)" points out that insufficient weight had been attributed to work with the people in the district, as proved by the case of the unified cooperative farm in Janovice nad Uhlovou, where the farmers have voted out the entire proposed farm management in secret ballot.

"(JEL)" reports from Prague-10 district about a delegate demanding that people should be required by law to prove that their high income and considerable property has been acquired legally; "(OZ)" reports from Bratislava-environs that, despite repeated warnings to district agencies, they have not yet submitted the concept for a territorial plan for Bratislava up to the end of this century, which is why the organization of agricultural enterprises with regard to protection of the environment and underground waters cannot be completed. According to the "(DAM)"-signed report from Vsetin, the party organizations there are not devoting enough attention to the "stands, views, feelings, and views of the working collectives and to citizens' reactions to various phenomena and events in the society." And "(ML)" reports from Karvina that the district has serious housing problems.

"(ERB)" reports from Vranov nad Toplou on a production shortfall in the district amounting to Kcs48 million; and the "(KB)"-signed report from Havlickuv Brod notes that the delegates are concerned "why certain young people in our enterprises are not interested in becoming CPCZ members."

New Generals Appointed, Promoted

AU0405133788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 May 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Promotion and Appointment of New Generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army"]

[Text] Prague—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, promulgated an order of the CSSR President on the promotion and appointment of new generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] in Prague on Monday [2 May].

Lieutenant General Vladimir Smakal, CSSR deputy minister of national defense, was promoted to the rank of colonel general; Major General Josef Vincenc, deputy chief of the CSLA General Staff, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general; and five CSLA colonels were appointed to the lowest general's rank, that of major general.

The same day Army General Milan Vaclavik presented 2 CSLA members with the Order of Labor and 43 CSLA members with the Order of the Red Star.

In an address he conveyed to them personal thanks and congratulations from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He emphasized that the promoted and newly appointed generals and the decorated CSLA members are performing their jobs with full responsibility and thereby demonstrating their high moral and political qualities. At the same time the minister of national defense called upon them to enhance with their personal example the authority of honest work and everything that is conducive to the successful implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress in the army.

The promotion and appointment of new generals and the presentation of awards was attended by Vladimir Blecha, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the Supreme Command of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the CSSR Ministry of National Defense, was also present.

May Day Decorations Torn Down, 'Defaced'

AU0405133588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 May 88 p 2

["ZR"-signed report: "Deliberate Defacement of the Czechoslovak National Flag"]

[Text] Prague—A university student who on 1 May deliberately defaced [poskodil] a CSSR national flag on Obrancu Miru Street in Prague-7 has been detained on charges of disturbance of public order.

Some further attempts at disturbing public order occurred in the last few days. On Friday [29 April] in Trnava, an 18-year-old man from Vrbova in Trnava district was taken into custody on charges of propagation of fascism. During a citizens' rally in the company club of the Trikota enterprise, he painted swastikas on the wall.

On Saturday [30 April] in Bratislava, two persons tore down a Soviet flag mounted on a public lighting pole. They have been detained. The same day, also in Bratislava, a 26-year-old man tore down CSSR and USSR flags mounted on a house.

Further Case of 'Vandalism'

AU0505093088 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
3 May 88 p 7

["(SYK)"-signed report in the "Shadows" column: "Night-Time Vandal"]

[Text] In the late hours of the night from Saturday to Sunday [30 April to 1 May], a patrol of the motorized emergency unit of the Prague city administration of Public Security detained a 22-year-old restaurant manager (female) who had misappropriated three red banners from the May Day decorations in Prague's tenth

district. The culprit was placed in detention, and is being charged with disturbing public order and prosecuted.

Strougal Presents Award to Trade Minister
LD0405221688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal presented Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba with the Order of Labor

today in the Hrzan Palace in Prague, together with letters of congratulation from Comrades Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak. This high state honor has been awarded to Jan Sterba by the president of the Republic on his 50th birthday for his outstanding contribution to building socialist society. Lubomir Strougal paid tribute to Jan Sterba's achievements in building socialism, and thanked him for his dedicated and committed work for the benefit of our socialist country in economic and political posts.

Axen Continues Contacts During U.S. Visit

Shultz Talks 'Open, Businesslike'

LD0405134788 East Berlin ADN International
Service in German 0025 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpt] Washington, 4 May (ADN)—U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz yesterday received Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, for an exchange of opinions in his office. This was held in an open and businesslike atmosphere. At the center of the talks were issues of the further development of bilateral relations between the GDR and the United States as well as current problems in international developments.

Hermann Axen conveyed greetings from Erich Hon-ecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, and reasserted the GDR's interest in the continuing development of political dialogue and bilateral cooperation between both states. It is time to extend and normalize relations further.

Secretary of State George Shultz announced the U.S. Government's intention to continue the process of improving mutual relations. Hermann Axen and George Shultz agreed to strengthen mutual efforts in the search for possibilities of extending dialogue and cooperation as well as purposefully advancing the solution of open bilateral issues.

During the discussion of security and disarmament issues, Hermann Axen briefed the secretary of state on the GDR's responsible and constructive peace policy. The GDR has made its contribution to the success of the INF Treaty and expects an understanding on a reduction in strategic missile potential from the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. Hermann Axen explained the need to reduce and remove tactical nuclear weapons, and to begin negotiations soon on conventional disarmament.

The U.S. secretary of state stressed the usefulness of continuing the political dialogue between states of differing social orders. In this context he pointed to the significance the U.S. Government places on issues of human rights and combating terrorism and drug smuggling.

Taking part in the exchange of opinions from the GDR side were Dr Manfred Uchner and Heinz Lehmann, deputy directors of departments of the SED Central Committee; Dr Herbert Barth, head of the United States, Canada, and Japan department of the Foreign Ministry; and the GDR's ambassador to the United States, Dr Gerhard Herder.

Taking part on the U.S. side were Deputy Secretary William Bodde [title as received]; Pierre Shostal, director of the Central European Affairs Office at the U.S. State Department; and Francis J. Meehan, U.S. ambassador to the GDR.

Earlier, in the course of a working dinner at the State Department, John Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state, and Hermann Axen discussed practical issues of the further shaping of relations between both states. [passage omitted]

Meets 'Concerned Scientists'

LD0405180088 East Berlin ADN International
Service in German 1553 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Washington, 4 May (ADN)—Hermann Axen, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the People's Chamber of the GDR, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met in Washington on Wednesday with Jonathan Dean, president of the Union of Concerned Scientists, for discussions on securing peace and continuing the disarmament process.

The U.S. organization, founded in 1969, unites 100,000 scientists, who consider it their responsibility to act for an end to the arms race and toward the peaceful development of society.

During the day, Hermann Axen will conduct discussions with a group of Congressmen from the U.S. House of Representatives, who are on the Foreign Affairs Committee of this chamber of Congress. In addition, a meeting with Secretary of Commerce William Verity and a lecture at the Institute for Contemporary German Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington are planned.

Talks With Congressmen

LD0405232388 East Berlin ADN International
Service in German 2000 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Washington, 4 May (ADN)—Hermann Axen, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee; met members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington on Wednesday. The talk, which proceeded in an open and friendly atmosphere, centered on questions of disarmament and the parliamentary contacts between the GDR and the United States, in particular between the Foreign Affairs Committees of the People's Chamber and Congress.

In the exchange of views on the disarmament issue, Hermann Axen stressed in particular the need to extend the reduction of weapons systems to the conventional sphere. He referred to the importance of the elimination of existing asymmetries. The two sides spoke in favor of the need for political dialogue and stressed its usefulness.

Members of the U.S. Congress who had already visited the GDR recalled their impressions and experiences during their trip. They stressed in particular their talk with Erich Honecker. The meeting was attended by Congressman Lee Hamilton, chairman of the Subcommittee for Europe and the Middle East; Tom Lantos; Douglas Bereuter; and Larry Smith.

After the talk, Hermann Axen visited an impressive exhibition in the Library of Congress depicting the fascist burning of books in 1933 and the U.S. reaction to it. Senior staff of the library and the U.S. Council for the Remembrance of the Fascist Holocaust were present.

This morning Hermann Axen met the president of the Union of Concerned Scientists, Jonathan Dean. The U.S. organization, founded in 1969, unites 100,000 scientists who regard it as their responsibility to work for an end to the arms race and the peaceful development of society.

The agenda also included a talk with U.S. Secretary of Commerce William Verity. It will end with a lecture given by Hermann Axen at the Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Discusses Trade With Verity

LD0405223388 East Berlin ADN International
Service in German 2126 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Washington, 4 May (ADN)—Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met U.S. Secretary of Commerce William Verity for a talk in Washington on Wednesday. The two sides discussed bilateral relations prospects, including in particular the present state of and possibilities for the further development of reciprocal trade.

Herman Axen stressed that as an outward-looking and efficient state from both the economic and scientific-technical viewpoint, the GDR is interested in the expansion of economic relations with the United States on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

Secretary of Commerce Verity said that in view of the GDR's important economic and technological advances, the possibilities derived from this should be utilized more intensively for the development of bilateral trade.

The two sides discussed ways to exploit the potential of the GDR and the United States for reciprocal trade.

The meeting took place in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere. The talk was attended on the GDR side by Dr Herbert Barth, head of the USA, Canada, and Japan Department in the Foreign Affairs Ministry; and Dr Gerhard Herder, GDR ambassador in the United States; and on the U.S. side by the acting assistant secretary of state for international trade, Alan Moore, and the U.S. Ambassador to the GDR, Francis J. Meehan.

Speaks at Johns Hopkins

LD0505010488 East Berlin ADN International
Service in German 2250 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Washington, 5 May (ADN)—Hermann Axen, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee, outlined the GDR's policy, aimed at peace, disarmament, and cooperation, in a lecture in Washington yesterday evening. He was invited by the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at John Hopkins University. Hermann Axen spoke in favor of a trusting dialogue and constructive bilateral relations between the GDR and the United States, as a positive contribution to improving the international situation.

Spokesman 'Condemns' Israeli Actions in Lebanon

LD0405163988 East Berlin ADN in German
1557 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 4 May (ADN)—GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer has condemned in a statement made to ADN the latest aggressive actions by Israeli troops in Southern Lebanon as a crude violation of the fundamental norms of international law.

The GDR follows with great concern the exacerbation brought about as a result to the already complicated situation in the Near East. Once again the world is being made aware of the urgency of a political solution to the Near East conflict. Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees living there are obviously aimed at countering the courageous uprising by the Palestinian people against the occupation and despotism of the occupiers in the West Jordan area and in the Gaza Strip.

The spokesman stressed the need for Israel's immediate and complete withdrawal from Southern Lebanon and all other occupied Arab areas. The GDR supports the strict observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

SED Delegation Meets Israeli Communists

LD0405162488 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1051 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Tel Aviv, 4 May (ADN)—Me'ir Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israeli [CPI], received on Wednesday in Tel Aviv a delegation of the SED Central Committee led by Central Committee member Achim Becker. The head of the SED delegation conveyed warmest greetings from SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, which were reciprocated by Me'ir Vilner.

Achim Becker explained the policy of the further implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress of the SED. Me'ir Vilner reported on the tasks of the CPI in the present situation. He particularly went into the realistic and constructive attitude of his party in the struggle to bring about an extensive, just, and lasting solution to the Near East problem.

The effects of the events and developments in the Near East, and especially of the Palestinian revolt in the occupied Arab territories, on the domestic situation in Israel took up much of the talks.

Beyond this the sides discussed current problems in the international situation and in particular in the worldwide struggle for further concrete steps toward disarmament. The essentially common ground in the positions and policies of the two fraternally linked parties was emphasized. The sides acknowledged with deep satisfaction the development of relations between the SED and the CPI. They established that the visit is contributing to a further deepening of these relations in the interests of the joint struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace, and for democracy and social progress.

During its stay in Israel the SED delegation learned about the tasks and work of the Israeli Communists' organizations in Akko, Haifa, and Nazareth. The SED delegation also met with representatives of public life, including the Israeli trade union association Histadrut.

Honecker Congratulates Mubarak on Birthday
AU0505104188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 May 88 p 1

["ND" report: "Congratulations to the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt; Erich Honecker on 60th Birthday of Muhammad Husni Mubarak"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following congratulatory telegram to Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt:

It is a great pleasure for me to cordially congratulate you on your 60th birthday.

I add best wishes for your personal well-being, creative vigor, and further successes in your responsible activities for the benefit of the Egyptian people.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Mozambique Foreign Minister Honored at Dinner

Fischer Toast

AU0505194988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 May 88 p 6

[Toast by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer at a dinner in honor of Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in East Berlin on 3 May: "The GDR Stands in Solidarity at the Side of the People's Republic of Mozambique"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Mocumbi, dear Mozambican guests, dear comrades and friends:

With great pleasure I welcome you, dear Comrade Mocumbi, and the comrades who accompany you to the GDR. We consider your visit to be an expression of friendly cooperation between our parties and peoples, which had already developed and proved its worth before the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique, during the years of the struggle of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) for independence and freedom. This friendship is characterized by profound understanding for each other. It is bearing rich fruit. In order for this fruit to benefit our peoples without any reservations, it is above all necessary to achieve a peaceful development, guaranteed for all regions of our planet.

For the first time in the nuclear age the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles provided proof that, given goodwill on both sides, the dangerously overflowing arsenals of nuclear missiles can be reduced. Even before the treaty formally enters into force, the Soviet Union has started to destroy the missiles brought back ahead of schedule from the territories of the GDR and the CSSR, and to turn their carrier vehicles into construction cranes; as of 1 July, the former Warren missile base in our country will admit 800 vacationers from the GDR trade unions.

Now it is the United States' turn to prove its credibility and to ratify this treaty without any further delays, so that there is no longer any obstacle to its immediate implementation. The people want progress to be made without delay on the path of liberating our planet from the nuclear threat. The next goal on this path, the conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction of their strategic offensive weapons, can and must be reached.

Of course, those who continue to strive for military supremacy and who want to destroy the newly attained disarmament of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles by means of the so-called modernization of the remaining nuclear potentials are trying to brake or even turn around the process. This is also shown by the results of the session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group that has just been concluded. They remind us all too clearly of the pattern of the so-called NATO counterarmament

decision, which brought the U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles to Western Europe in the first place. Reason dictates that progress should be made from one zero option to another, and that further armament should not be supported. Therefore, the people must not permit any break in the struggle for disarmament and the safeguarding of peace on earth and in space. The forthcoming third UN special session on disarmament questions will be of great importance in this respect. In order to stimulate the disarmament process that has now started, the GDR is also undertaking its own initiatives that correspond to its specific situation and its possibilities. These include the proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free and chemical weapon-free zones in central Europe and its policy of dialogue, that is aimed at promoting trust and cooperation.

Concerning the stimulation of the process of disarmament and detente, we place high hopes on the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in Berlin from 20-22 June, at which qualified representatives of your state, dear Comrade Mocumbi, are also expected.

Dear Mozambican comrades, the peaceful and independent development of the peoples in southern Africa is still acutely in danger. The existence of the misanthropic apartheid system is the source of all tensions and conflicts in this region. Therefore, the GDR stands in word and deed at the side of those who are struggling all over the world to eliminate apartheid. We categorically condemn the escalation of violence and terror used by the racist regime in southern Africa, which is continually accompanied by acts of aggression and intervention directed against the independent states of the region.

The apartheid system cannot be reformed; it must be eliminated.

Our solidarity applies to the struggle against those gangs in your country that are maintained by imperialist and racist forces, and that want to deprive the long-suffering Mozambican people from fruitful—that is, peaceful—development.

As in the past, in the future, too, the peoples in southern Africa can be sure of the GDR's solidarity and support in their struggle to establish conditions for peaceful development. The GDR stands in firm affinity at the side of the African National Congress (ANC) and the broad democratic antiapartheid movement in the struggle for a democratic, unified, and nonracist South Africa, and at the side of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in the struggle for Namibia's independence.

With deep understanding and feelings of sympathy we welcome all steps and initiatives by the frontline states—Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia, and Botswana—aimed at defusing the dangerous hotbed

of conflict that is endangering world peace, at finding solutions in the interest of the lives and fruitful future of their people, and at defending and consolidating their national independence.

Dear Comrade Minister, varied and mutually beneficial relations have developed between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation signed in February 1979 in Maputo during the visit of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has proved its worth.

The principles of cooperation agreed on in this treaty provide opportunities to further deepen our cooperation for peace and for the welfare of our peoples.

With sympathetic understanding the GDR follows the efforts of Mozambique's leaders and people to safeguard their national independence and territorial integrity, to reactivate the economy, and to reestablish peace in the country. We share your joy, dear Mozambican comrades, in all progress along this path.

By the end of this year 900 graduates of the Stassfurt School of Friendship will return to Mozambique after their successful education and vocational training in order to serve their fatherland. This is an example of the solidarity for which the socialist German state is known and appreciated in Africa and on other continents, where the human right to peaceful development is trampled on by imperialism and its henchmen. And this solidarity is to continue in the future as well.

Esteemed Comrade Mocumbi, please return to your homeland with the firm conviction that in future, too, the GDR will be the People's Republic of Mozambique's understanding friend and will stand at its side in firm solidarity.

I ask you, dear friends and comrades, to raise your glasses with me and to drink

—to the firm friendship between our peoples and states;

—to peace and the people's happy future;

—to your health, Comrade Minister, and to the health of all those present.

Mocumbi Toast

AU0505155988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4 May 88 p 6

[Toast by Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, at a dinner given in his honor by his GDR counterpart Oskar Fischer in Berlin on 3 May: "Our Two Peoples Are Linked by Indestructible Friendship"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, dear comrades and friends, first I would like to convey thanks on my own behalf and on

behalf of my entourage for the fraternal reception extended to us upon our arrival in your beautiful country, the GDR. We were pleased and deeply moved by this gesture.

We convey greetings of friendship and militant solidarity from the Mozambican people, the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo], and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to the fraternal people of the GDR, the SED, and the GDR Government.

Comrade Oskar Fischer, the cordial reception extended to us is a sign of the indestructible friendship that has linked our two peoples and parties since the beginning of the Mozambican people's armed struggle against colonialism.

The SED and the fraternal people of the GDR always stood at the side of our people during the most difficult hours of our struggle and continue to do so during today's struggle for the defense of our national independence and sovereignty.

The agreement of friendship and cooperation signed on 24 February 1979 serves to strengthen the existing fraternal relations and cooperation between our states.

We are pleased at the positive results that have been obtained at various levels in the most different spheres of economic, social, and cultural life.

We also pay tribute to the increasing efforts of your people in providing support for the Mozambican people in their struggle against underdevelopment and against armed banditry.

The steady exchange of delegations between our two parties and governments ensures that the latest information is provided at all times and that due attention is devoted to the cooperation programs.

Our visit to your country takes place at a time when the Republic of South Africa continues to wage its undeclared war against our country by using armed gangs which carry out massacres among the defenseless population, which indiscriminately kidnap men, women, and children, native and foreign citizens, and systematically plunder and destroy the country's economic and social infrastructure.

To overcome this situation, our party and state have launched extensive economic and social measures on the basis of the guidelines adopted by the Fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party.

Besides the efforts in the sphere of defense and security, the program for economic revival and the program for emergency aid are the basis for the measures that have been adopted.

We are aware that it is difficult to resolve the fundamental problems as long as destabilization continues. However, we cannot wait for the war to end before we launch economic measures. This is why we link the struggle against banditry with economic revival and reconstruction of the country's infrastructure.

Strengthening the defense capability is connected with the development of a system of self-defense on the part of the people and the initiation of diplomatic and political steps aimed at ending the war.

We still have a long way to go, but the results obtained so far are encouraging. The lives of thousands of people were saved through emergency measures, and it was possible to stop the past years' downward trend in the national economy and to achieve a four-percent increase in the gross national product.

The region we live in is characterized by unrest. And the apartheid regime is the only one responsible for this situation.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has joined forces with the other states that have become victims through their dependence on South Africa, in the struggle for economic independence through regional cooperation within the framework of the South African Development Coordination Conference.

Comrade Minister, esteemed comrades, peace and security in the world are constantly being threatened through the incredible speed of the arms race in the sphere of modern, sophisticated nuclear weapons, by means of which human civilization can be destroyed for all time.

Our two peoples love peace. Open dialogue prevails over violence, threats, and blackmail. We support all peace initiatives.

We welcomed with great pleasure the signing of the Washington treaty by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Ronald Reagan, president of the United States. We hope that the next summit meeting will make possible new steps leading to complete disarmament and eliminating the danger of war.

We welcome the GDR's active support for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in Europe and the elimination of all nuclear weapons from the continent and from the whole world.

Comrade Minister, esteemed comrades, we are following the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress with great interest.

We have great respect for the results and the success you have achieved in developing your country to the benefit of the people of the GDR.

We are convinced that we will continue our joint efforts to further strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Frelimo Party and the SED, between Mozambique and the GDR, and between the foreign ministries of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the GDR.

In this spirit, I would like to ask all those present to raise their glasses and drink to good health and long life for Comrade General Secretary Erich Honecker; to the strengthening of friendship and solidarity between the people of the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique; and to world peace! The struggle continues!

Thank you very much!

DIE WELT Reports on SED Church Policy
DW051240 Bonn DIE WELT in German
5 May 88 p 4

[Hans R. Karutz article: "SED Campaign Against Bishop Forck"]

[Text] Berlin—The polemical and outspoken criticism of East Berlin Bishop Forck—the SED charges him with having given his blessing on May Day to a demonstrator who tied himself up in chains in front of the Marienkirche—highlights both the quarrel between state and church and internal SED squabbling over its church policy. Criticism like that now aimed at Forck was last heard in 1983 when Cardinal Joachim Meisner was called a "Rome-controlled functionary," and in 1976 when a priest, Oskar Bruesewitz, burned himself to death.

The church policy "hawks" are definitely within the ranks of the SED Politburo's FDJ wing. One of those hawks is former FDJ leader Egon Krenz, who is in charge of security matters in the Politburo and is still considered a possible heir apparent to Honecker. Other hawks are chief propagandist Joachim Herrmann and FDJ Chairman Eberhard Aurich. Given the fierce SED criticism of the FDJ's weak influence on the critical GDR youth, the new party generation is apparently seeking to enhance its authority through the adoption of a hardline approach toward the church.

Remarkably enough, the FDJ newspaper JUNGE WELT did not publish the ADN version in its Tuesday issue, according to which the young man had Forck's blessing when he tied himself up in chains. Instead, the newspaper holds Bishop Forck directly responsible, saying the people's police had to free him from the chains with which he had bound himself, with Berlin Bishop Forck's blessing. The newspaper thus implies that Forck was informed of the incident beforehand, willingly approved it, and even supported it.

When DIE WELT asked the bishop, after his church service, what he had actually said, he responded it was merely that there had been "some scrapping" in front of

the church. In the sacristy, he immediately asked if the young man had been freed. When the answer was no, Forck made a remark that is entirely consistent with his past assurances to help people, regardless of their reputation or political motivation. He said, "I will have to take care of it".

Although Forck's statement that the West indirectly shares responsibility for the expatriation problem—a notion that gave rise to a great deal of irritation and criticism in Bonn—and his repeated appeals for people to stay in the GDR, ought to prove his loyalty from an SED point of view, he has apparently incurred the wrath of the party's hawks in particular. The rules of conduct, conveyed to Bishop Werner Leich in Politburo member Werner Jarowsky's letter of 19 February, appear to have a certain significance in that context.

Copies of this letter have been sent out to all SED subdivisions to serve as a guideline for dealing with the church. Speculation is running high in East Berlin that the responsibility for church affairs might be rearranged within the Politburo. Jarowsky, who is in charge of trade and supply, is named as a likely successor to the seriously ill Guenter Mittag. It was back in 1976 when the SED launched its most unscrupulous attack on the church to date. It described the suicide of Oskar Bruesewitz as the act of a man who was not in his right mind.

Briefs

FRG Trade Union Delegation

East Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of the FDGB Printing and Paper Industrial Trade Union, a delegation of the DGB Printing and Paper Industrial Trade Union Main Executive Committee paid a 5-day visit to the GDR. Headed by Deputy Chairman Heinz Mueller, the delegation held talks with Werner Peplowski, chairman of the Printing and Paper Industrial Trade Union Central Executive Committee, on the further deepening of cooperation. [Excerpt] [AU0205162988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Apr 88 p 2]

Union Delegation in FRG

Bonn (ADN)—A delegation of the Central Executive Council of the Trade and Foodstuffs Union, headed by its chairwoman Hannelore Schulz, member of the Presidium of the FDGB National Executive Council, concluded a several-day visit to the FRG this weekend, 30 April to 1 May. They had met with the Central Executive Council of the Trade, Banks, and Insurance Companies Union for an exchange of opinions in Duesseldorf. [Summary] [AU0305121088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 May 88 p 2]

SED-SPD Seminar

Freudenstadt (ADN)—On 28 April a joint 3-day seminar of representatives of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee and the SPD Basic Values Commission began in Freudenstadt (FRG). The discussions on the topic "What is social progress today?" are based on the joint document "The Conflict of Ideologies and Common Security." The seminar is chaired by Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, and Erhard Eppler, chairman of the Basic Values Commission attached to the SPD Presidium. [Excerpts] [AU0205162888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Apr 88 p 5]

French Trade Union Delegation

On Saturday 30 April Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB National Executive Council, received a delegation from the National Youth Center of the French trade union General Confederation of Labor for a friendly exchange of views. He briefed the visitors on how the GDR trade unions meet their responsibility for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the preservation of peace. Jean Pierre Sfahia, member of the National Office of the National Youth Center, spoke about the struggle against mass unemployment and the safeguarding of democratic and trade union rights in France. [Summary] [AU0305163988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 May 88 p 2]

Medgyessy Views 'Expected' Kadar Retirement
OW0605025588 Tokyo KYODO in English
0216 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 5 KYODO—Vice Premier Peter Medgyessy indicated Thursday Hungarian leader Janos Kadar, whose retirement is expected because of his advanced age, will unlikely step down.

Medgyessy dropped the hint during a meeting with Japanese reporters accompanying Shintaro Abe, secretary general of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, on a three-nation European tour.

Kadar, 75, general secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party, has been in power since the 1956 Hungarian revolution.

Medgyessy said a rejuvenated leadership is in the making in Hungary but said "it is not a good generation change in which a 75-year-old man is replaced by a 65-year-old."

The vice premier sought Japanese investment in his country for its economic development, saying a new corporate law is being prepared to create stable investment climate for Japan.

Fejti Interviewed on State-Party Relations
AU0405152888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 30 Apr 88 p 3

[Interview with Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Andras Erdelyi: "At the Turning Point of Development"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The national party conference will be the outstanding event of the month of May. We have continuously reported the preparations for the conference and the lively nationwide exchange of views on the issue. No doubt, responsible political bodies must clarify fundamental issues in the coming weeks, issues that can be decisive both from the point of view of the present and the future. The further development of the system of political institutions, including the further development of the organization of the state, is one of the aforementioned issues. One of the most interesting and most decisive aspects of these efforts is the way the relationship between the party and state is developing and the ways the methods and means of the party guidance of the life of the state are being enriched. We spoke with Gyorgy Fejti about these issues as well as some others.

[Erdelyi] Different terminology is used nowadays to describe the renewal of the system of political institutions. There are people who speak of an increase in efficiency, others mention the development of the system of institutions, and others hold the opinion that not

a single existing element of the current system of institutions can be left untouched. What do these differences in terminology reflect, and what formulation do you accept?

[Fejti] I don't believe in debating semantics. I think that we must be radical in our actions and in changing our own habits and the institutional framework that everyday life has rendered obsolete, rather than being radical in using the various concepts. Obviously, the use of different terms often indicates considerable ideological differences as well. This multitude of concepts, however, also indicates the various extents to which the elements of the system of institutions require restructuring. There are elements that, in my opinion, should continue to function essentially within the current framework because they have stood the test of time. In the case of other elements, we must find new solutions to replace obsolete ones. [passage omitted]

I start from the premises that socialism—on a global scale, and thus, including socialism in Hungary too—has reached a turning point in its development. It is becoming increasingly clear that we will be able to break free from the limitations imposed by our low level of economic efficiency, wasteful economic management, and the subsequent phenomena of deficiency, only if we endeavor to carry out simultaneous and coordinated reforms both in our economy and in the renewal of the system of political institutions.

These reforms must be comprehensive and thorough and must necessarily affect all the elements of the system of political institutions. From among the planned changes, I regard as particularly important the following: a more rational delimitation of decision and responsibility among the party, the state, and the public organs; a further rational decentralization of the decisionmaking system; and a broad development of self-management. [passage omitted]

[Erdelyi] The broad consensual social base in society has ceased to exist, and therefore, one cannot build a new consensus on this foundation in the near future. This is a recognition accepted by the political and state leadership. To put it more bluntly, what is there to replace this foundation? What will the political and state guidance rely on?

[Fejti] No doubt, it was easier to justify the party and state policy in the period of dynamic economic growth and a considerable and steady increase in the standard of living. [passage omitted]

The consensus, which has weakened in recent years and which is now being reshaped, is partially being derived from other needs. We must come to an agreement on issues concerning the goals of social and economic development, the reform of the system of political institutions, and the main direction of activity aimed at implementing this reform. Essentially, we must receive

nationwide support for a program that is still taking shape, a program that, in spite of all the difficulties and conflicts, accepts and applies competition, selective development, and the principle of performance. [passage omitted]

We want more socialism, more democracy, and a higher social efficiency. We want to restructure considerably our system of political institutions in the spirit of these goals. [passage omitted]

[Erdelyi] It is quite a frequent phenomenon—and not only in local public life—that instead of providing theoretical guidance, the party organs prefer the so called operational measures, and thus, they interfere in the work of the executive bodies. Can we expect any change in this respect?

[Fejti] Change is necessary. Our firm endeavor is to develop a more clear-cut division of labor in the relations between the party and the state bodies, and bodies that represent interests, including the more clear-cut delimitation of decisions and responsibilities and the elimination of duplication. There is a lot to do in this area today. However, I would refrain from stating that the so-called operational measures taken by the party organs constantly interfere in the efforts of the state executive bodies. If this were indeed the main cause for the disturbances in our system of institutions, we would find relatively easy solutions to this problem. [passage omitted]

[Erdelyi] Increasing the role of the National Assembly is one of our important political endeavors. This presents more or less clear requirements for the government's work. Will all this change the relationship between the National Assembly the party?

[Fejti] The relationship between the National Assembly and the MSZMP is based on the Constitution and is carried out primarily through the activity of the party members among the deputies. The principles of this relationship are firm, have stood the test of time, and do not need to be changed. The communist members of the Parliament fulfill their mission with a "double commitment." They are responsible both to their voters and to the party. Contrary to what some people claim, this does not necessarily lead to conflicts. The party itself takes part in the integration of society's interests, and thus, if the party conducts a correct policy, its positions also reflect the overall interests of the society and of the nation. [passage omitted]

[Erdelyi] What chances do the citizens' initiatives have today?

[Fejti] I think that the citizens' constructive initiatives have an increasingly better chance. Recognition of the fact that it is impossible to imagine economic and social

development without the active and creative participation of the citizens is increasingly gaining ground. However, there is a lot more to be done in this respect too, because it is true that there is still often distrust surrounding spontaneous initiatives made by the citizens. In addition to certain official and bureaucratic reflexes, there is also fear from antisocialist forces behind this behavior, and this fear is not quite unfounded. No doubt, such a threat occasionally occurs. However, this should not be used as an excuse to reject constructive initiatives made by the citizens. We must reveal and curb the position of hostile forces in the course of open political debates. In other words, although the party continues to refrain from seeking confrontation, it will not avoid it either. [passage omitted]

[Erdelyi] Decisions on some issues are not always made by people who are actually competent to decide on important matters. For a long time, however, various party positions and government decisions have been calling for the implementation of the principle of "the right person in the right position." But counterselection—which, under certain historical circumstances played a certain role—continues to be a heavy burden on our society to this very day. In your opinion, what are the roots of this problem, and will the stipulations that limit the appointment of officials in certain positions to a maximum of two terms provide enough guarantees for a healthy rotation system to develop?

[Fejti] Counterselection is indeed a serious problem, but I do not think that this is solely characteristic of the socialist society. This problem exists in every social order for different reasons. As for the roots of the problem in Hungary, in my opinion, natural selection is still inadequate and the practice of nomination is too widespread. There are no real competition situations. There is too much subjectivism and intensity. In many places, ambitious people are still received with suspicion. We often lack courage in cases where personnel should justifiably be replaced and there is also a certain pseudo-humanism prevailing here. People who are pioneers and seek new ways cannot always count on adequate patience and support. At the same time, mediocre leaders continue to hold their positions undisturbed for a long time. Control from below is not strong enough, control that would make it impossible for unsuitable people to remain in their posts.

Rotation, particularly if it is implemented over a wider area, can strengthen the healthy processes that are already under way. [passage omitted]

NEPSZABADSAG Holds Forum Discussion
LD020105 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1820 GMT 1 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Now we present a report from the NEPSZABADSAG Forum which took place this afternoon at Varosliget. The editor is Attila Balint.

[Balint] Good evening. [passage omitted] The answers will come from Gyorgy Fejti, MSZMP Central Committee secretary; Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy; Sandor Nagy, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT]; Laszlo Somogyi, minister for construction and urban development; Gabor Deak, state secretary and chairman of the state youth and sports office; Pal Ivanyi, chairman of the Budapest Council; and Gabor Borbely, editor in chief of NEPSZABADSAG.

The editors, Istvan Gabor Benedek and Kornelia Doretyko, made selections from many thousands of questions. I now hand the proceedings over to Laszlo Szabo.

[Szabo] Peter Medgyessy, what is the country's debt at present? How can we repay it, and can we repay it at all?

[Medgyessy] The country's debt is \$11 billion. We must pay installments on this sum in the coming years. This does not mean that loans cannot be taken up in the meantime, if the development of the economy is satisfactory. So, the debt must be repaid, and if the economy develops at a good pace, then new loans can also be obtained for new developments.

[Szabo] What is the ratio between the interest and the principal debt? So, how much interest do we have to pay? What is this, roughly, in percentage terms?

[Medgyessy] In total, roughly a third of what we have to repay is interest and two thirds is the installments.

[Szabo] So it always goes down by this much?

[Medgyessy] Yes.

[Szabo] Gyorgy Fejti, what decisions can the party conference make regarding personnel questions? That is, who can it replace, and who can it elect?

[Fejti] The party conference's competency for decision-making in personnel questions concerns the Central Committee. Naturally, not the complete change of the Central Committee; this is the task of the party congresses. But a personnel renewal of significant measure will probably happen. This is also the unequivocal demand of the party membership.

As regards the personnel makeup of the Politburo and the Secretariat, and the officials, that does not come under the decisionmaking competency of the party conference, but under the Central Committee. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Sandor Nagy, tell us a little more about what you talked about on Thursday night with Comrade Kadar and the other party leaders in the SZOT building. I presume the person is asking because a rather tight-lipped communique was issued.

[Nagy] First, I would like to say that this meeting is not unique, in the sense that in earlier years, such meetings were held several times and also regularly with leaders from the party central committee working various fields, including economic policy and other areas.

At this meeting, first and foremost, we trade union leaders dealt with the place and role filled by the trade unions in the system of political institutions; the possibilities of sharper, more genuine interest representation work; the condition of legal regulation in connection with this; a possible trade union law, the more important questions regarding this, and the problems connected to this.

I must add, and I think this derives also from the nature of the matter, that there were matters on which, to put it thus, the participants in the meeting were more or less in agreement, and there were matters on which opinions diverged. But I must also add that no kind of decision or agreement was born at this forum, for the participants from either side did not have such a mandate. This was, if you like, an exchange of opinions in the classic sense.

[Szabo] Can the journalist ask a question too?

[Nagy] Of course.

[Szabo] A tougher, more precisely, a sharper profile: Does this also mean the trade unions will take a tougher line in defending the workers' interests?

[Nagy] I think that a trade union which conducts politics responsibly must always be clear about those social and economic realities in which it is working, but this does not mean that those fundamental interests and problems which concern the workers from day to day do not need to be formulated very decisively and clearly. From this point of view, this is what it means that a decisive, sharp interest representation should come about in the Hungarian trade union movement, more strongly than it does at present.

[Passage omitted: Laszlo Somogyi explains no rent increases are planned for this year]

[Szabo] Gyorgy Fejti, can a new youth organization besides KISZ be formed, bearing in mind that those who have tried to do this have been called in by the police? Why was the FIDESZ [student youth organization] not allowed to operate?

[Fejti] Hungarian youth are quite articulate regarding both their interests and what they are interested in. It is in our interest that this articulation of interests should also be represented organizationally. It is not true that KISZ is the only youth organization today. There are 500 societies, circles, and clubs operating, and I think the number of these will grow in the future.

The situation is different regarding youth groupings of a political character. In Hungary it has developed historically that there is a one-party system. Furthermore, in the course of further development of the system of political institutions, we are looking for the solution within the framework of the one-party system. Therefore, this one party currently has one political youth organization. Other youth political structures do not exist. The FIDESZ, as far as its aims could be ascertained on the basis of a statement of aims and a press briefing, came forward with a decidedly political ambition. Since we are talking about young people, I am willing and prepared to judge the organizers' aims in good faith. I cannot say the same for those individuals, older individuals, who stand behind these young people, who earlier held the view that the worse it is, the better it is; that their time will come, with the worsening of the situation in this country, and whose opinion is that socialism is simply bad and beyond redemption. We naturally, for the protection of our inner stability, do not wish to give a political sphere of movement to such views.

[Szabo] The next question is mine; it was addressed to me: Is it true that Zoltan Kiraly—obviously because he is a colleague of mine, a journalist—has been expelled from everywhere, not just from the party?

To this, I can reply that anyone watching the television this morning could see Zoltan Kiraly. He was the reporter from the Tiszakécske May Day celebration. To the best of my knowledge, Zoltan Kiraly is still a member of the Hungarian National Assembly. No initiative has been taken on the part of his electorate to recall him, and I do not think there will be such an initiative in the near future.

The next question is to Pal Ivanyi: How many individuals from Romania have been given work permits in Budapest?

[Ivanyi] As of 25 April, 935 individuals.

[Szabo] Comrade Ivanyi, can we clarify something? In the papers, we can read about various permits for settling, residence permits. What kind of permit do those arriving here from Romania get?

[Ivanyi] They get residence permits and work permits. [Passage omitted: Medgyessy, in reply to a question on whether the new tax laws are to be amended, responds that the fundamental principles of the laws do not need to be changed].

[Szabo] Thank you. Sandor Nagy, what in your opinion is the extent of unemployment today? In how many places has a trade union committee for the unemployed been formed?

[Nagy] This question is not very easy to answer, because several pieces of data have to be taken into consideration. In 1987, and in the first months of 1988, around 11,000 people were registered at the labor exchange offices—those who have been looking for work for several months. There are another, roughly 10-11,000 individuals, who have been to labor exchange offices, but did not ask to be registered. At the same time, there is a very significant proportion of those of working age, around 5 percent, who for various reasons do not work, take on housework, occasional work, and so on. From this, it follows that according to our estimates, the number of those who are today looking, on a long-term basis, for work in Hungary may be somewhere around a maximum of 30,000 individuals.

To the second part of the question, I can reply that at this moment, only in Borsod County, Miskolc, is a trade union base organization for the unemployed operating. This is because it is in this area where there is the greatest number of trade union members looking for work at the moment, and it is our obligation to concern ourselves with representation of their interests.

[Passage omitted]

[Szabo] Gabor Borbely, why doesn't NEPSZABADSAG report the debates of the Central Committee at least as well as television does? There is another question as well, Comrade Borbely, an even sharper question: If we compare today's NEPSZABADSAG and television, it is as if we were comparing the PRAVDA of 1976 with that of today. Why doesn't the party paper inform people; why does this task fall to television? Is the party afraid to talk about serious issues in its own paper?

[Borbely] First of all, I am glad that the questioner has such a high regard for the political programs on television. I am glad of that even if it appears that NEPSZABADSAG suffers from the comparison, at least in the opinion of the questioner. Naturally, NEPSZABADSAG publishes regular reports on the Central Committee sessions. After all, the resolutions on the most important issues appear in NEPSZABADSAG. On the other hand, how we can appropriately reflect in the paper the Central Committee debates is an unresolved issue. We have now reached a solution whereby the relevant Central Committee secretary gives a brief summary of the debate on television. It is obvious that when we think about how to go further, it will be necessary to develop a way to do this in NEPSZABADSAG as well.

Regarding the question of courage, naturally we do not boast of being the bravest, but I can say with full confidence that we write and endeavor to write about every issue. It is true that we are not looking for extremes; after all, the situation in the country is such at the present that it is relatively easy to whip up passions on any issue. We would like for the paper to have an appropriately balanced political direction.

I think that where you compare PRAVDA with our television, your comparison is not altogether accurate. I could say that if you were to compare NEPSZABAD-SAG of 1976 with that of today, doing so in an objective spirit, then you would find significant progress. We want to progress further along this road.

[Szabo] Thank you very much. I think that the honesty of the answers approaches the frankness of the questions. Gyorgy Fejti, will there be a new constitution, or will the old one be patched up once again?

[Fejti] The Constitution requires considerable reworking. This work is being carried out at the present time, on the basis of wide-ranging scientific preparations. It would be too early to say whether a new constitution or a considerable reform of the Constitution is needed. Personally I tend toward the view that a new constitution is needed. I can tell you why. Time has made many points in our constitution outdated. Certain important issues are regulated in a rather laconic way in the Constitution. Furthermore, several paragraphs of the Constitution need to be reformulated in connection with the ideas involved in the transformation of the system of political institutions. At the same time, we have a very great interest in preserving those parts of the Constitution which have withstood the test of time.

Which points need significant reformulation? Probably the functions of the organs of peoples' power, of the representation of the people, have to be defined more precisely. Similarly, there might be a need to set out the role of the courts in more detail. There might be a need to set out the new endeavors and phenomena connected with property relations and the economy, at the level of the Constitution. I also find it very important that the declared formulation of certain fundamental rights of citizenship, and on certain issues guarantees as well, should be regulated at the level of the Constitution.

This is in a fairly advanced state. The idea is that both fundamental citizens' rights—that is, the right of assembly and the right of association—should be regulated at the level of laws, and it is envisaged that this will be preceded by a rather wide-ranging social debate. If the preparatory work can be continued in line with the work plan, then it is possible that both draft laws will be submitted to the National Assembly this year.

[Szabo] What other prices will go up this year? The questioner added: Please be honest. This question is addressed to Peter Medgyessy.

[Medgyessy] Well, we introduced a new system as of 1988, and in this system it is not the state which decides fundamentally regarding any increase in prices. Rather, this is something that develops on the basis of what happens at the enterprises. We do not intend to bring in central, state measures. I cannot say that this promise is

valid forever; it is not certain that it could be kept. I must also add that the situation could change; for example, the National Assembly could decide otherwise.

[Szabo] The next question is addressed to Sandor Nagy: Why doesn't the trade union veto increases in the cost of apartments? The question refers not to rents but to the price of apartments.

[Nagy] I would really like to say in answer to the question that we do not veto it because even if we did, the price of apartments would continue rising. I would also like to ask Laszlo Somogyi why the price of flats is going up so rapidly. However, I think that this will not get us very far. The position of the trade union movement on the housing issue, and every such important issue affecting the conditions of life, is that a fundamentally new construction, a new management, and new conditions are needed, because we find it untenable that the large majority of young people have no realistic hope whatever of getting their own apartment in the foreseeable future. This is simultaneously a price problem, a distribution problem, and a housing management problem. Therefore, as is well known, a comprehensive study of housing management is under way.

[Passage omitted: Somogyi says an increase in the price of bricks and other construction materials is not planned for this year. Ivanyi is asked whether it is true that only 1,200 council apartments will be built in Budapest this year. He replies that there are 65,000 housing claimants in Budapest, 40,000 of whom currently have no apartments and 25,000 of whom would like to change apartments.]

[Szabo] Gabor Deak, what does the State Youth and Sports Office do to combat the spread of drugs?

[Deak] According to estimates, there are about 30,000 people in Hungary who have made friends with some form of narcotic. I would like to say that the hard drugs are not yet characteristic in our country. The overwhelming majority of these 30,000 people are young. This is a youth problem, if only because those who suffer from this sort of addiction have little chance of becoming members of the older generation. Naturally, the state office is not alone in fighting this very serious problem. [passage omitted: other bodies involved in the work of prevention, treatment, and after-care]

[Szabo] Comrade Fejti, why is the party afraid of referenda?

[Fejti] Our Constitution deals with referendums but up to now we have not made use of this in the form of a national plebiscite. There have been so-called local votes, expressing the views of the citizens on certain local issues. In the longer term, and in the foreseeable future, I personally consider it necessary that we set out at the level of law the question of referenda and local referenda, the methods of carrying them out, and the range of

issues which have to be placed under the control of the citizen in this particular form. The preparations for this law are on the agenda, and I think that such a law can be created in the not too distant future, probably next year.

[Szabo] Peter Medgyessy, in your view, is there such a thing as reform demagogy?

[Fejt] Well, there are so many types of demagogy, why shouldn't there be reform demagogy as well?

[Szabo] Sandor Nagy, the SZOT chairman and the prime minister are both Politburo members. Can there be debate between them on issues settled in party resolutions, for example regarding the closing of factories operating at a loss?

[Nagy] I have to tell you on the basis of practical experience that such conflicts are not only possible but they actually happen. The ideas connected with the 1988 plan, or the modernization of the taxation system, or the development of prices, or the modernization of the pension system have contained many problems which have given rise to concrete and serious arguments between the SZOT and the government and thus between the SZOT chairman and the chairman of the Council of Ministers personally. However, what I regard as important and, if I may say so, forward-looking, in the question is that it is not a good thing for party forums to bring in decisions which later restrict the free movement of the government and the trade unions on issues which do not concern the determination of the political line, and where in normal circumstances a government and a trade union can reach agreement with lots of argument and in some cases with much compromise.

The question of the loss-making areas also belongs in this sphere, and in this area the trade unions have specific entitlements. We are members of the liquidating organ; or more precisely, we have certain possibilities for influencing the process of liquidation.

[Szabo] Gyorgy Fejt, in your opinion, are the resolutions of the 13th Congress still valid?

[Fejt] Yes, they are valid, although the national party conference was convened precisely in order to pass the last word on this issue. According to our present-day evaluation, it has to be said that our evaluation of the situation prior to the 13th Congress—that is, at the end of 1984—was not fully accurate, well-founded, or fully based on reality. As a consequence of this, the goals which were formulated at the congress could not be fully realized. We have had to undertake a reorganization of the priorities laid down at the congress. It will be the task of the present party conference to carry out the analysis, to draw up the balance, of the period since the congress and to effect further changes of emphasis. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Let whoever wants to answer the next question. Is there a minister who is not a member of the party, or is there anyone who is not a party member? [long silence] Comrade Medgyessy.

[Medgyessy] There is no such minister, although there is a state secretary and there are deputy ministers who are not party members.

[Szabo] The next question is addressed to Pal Ivanyi: What is your opinion of the fact that nowadays almost all the films about World War II are filmed in Budapest? Is it because this is the only city where some districts are still in ruins; is this the only such European capital left? These questioners are really merciless.

[Ivanyi] I would like to say that there is not a single district full of ruins in Budapest. [tremendous whistling and shouting] Unfortunately, however, we have districts where the buildings are in a bad state of repair. [passage omitted: elaborating] In Budapest there are 120,000 apartments in very bad condition. These have no modern conveniences and have not been renovated in the past 50 years. This is one of the great burdens which the city bears.

[Szabo] Comrade Fejt, when will multiple candidacy be compulsory in the party as well, just as it is already in electing members to the National Assembly and the local councils?

[Fejt] Well, in practice multiple candidacy is already present in the party, and it manifests itself in an ever wider sphere. At the same time, there is no compulsory multiple candidacy today. My explanation for this is that in the case of the National Assembly elections and the council elections, we have been able to break through the psychological barrier, and after that perhaps it is not necessary to employ the quote—compulsory—unquote form of democracy. Incidentally, personally I would have no objection to such a practice coming into force in the party. [passage omitted]

Grosz Continues Official Visit to UK 5 May

Confers With Howe, Thatcher
LD0505190588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has received Karoly Grosz. Their private discussions are coming to an end about now. Here is a roundup by our special correspondent, Gabor Bankuti, on today's good 9-hour schedule in London:

[Bankuti] Economic relations should be raised to the level of political relations. This statement by the British foreign secretary at the morning meeting could be the motto of the talks in London today by Karoly Grosz. Sir Geoffrey Howe, at whose home there was a working

breakfast at which the Hungarian economy and the search for a way out were discussed—informally at first—said the UK was interested in modern forms of cooperation, in the creation of mixed enterprises, just like Hungary. Naturally, attractive conditions must be created for entrepreneurs. Karoly Grosz spoke with appreciation of the historical role that the United Kingdom has played in the eighties in the livening up and improvement of East-West relations.

He expressed thanks for the facilities that the British have provided when issuing visas for Hungarian experts traveling for official and business purposes. I add parenthetically that this agreement is similar to what we achieved with the FRG previously, even if it does not go as far as we would have been prepared to go.

Returning to this morning's exchange of views, relations between Hungary and the EEC were discussed. Karoly Grosz stated the Hungarian arguments, which Sir Geoffrey Howe listened to with understanding, and expressed his hope that there would be success in coordinating ideas.

From No 1 Carlton Gardens, Karoly Grosz returned in a black Bentley, adorned with the Hungarian flag, to his lodgings in the Hyde Park Hotel, where Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader, called on him to exchange views. Their conversation lasted 45 minutes. The essence of the conversation: Her Majesty's opposition supports the development of Hungarian-British relations, just like her majesty's government.

At midday, our prime minister and his entourage visited the headquarters of the Confederation of British Industry, where he met the organization's leaders, and owners and managers of British companies interested in relations. Karoly Grosz gave a brief talk on our situation, our opportunities, and our intentions. At the round table discussion, criticism was also made, on the one hand, of some of our products that are not competitive and, on the other hand, of our clumsiness in cooperation. Karoly Grosz considered these observations to be just and informative, especially regarding the second group.

Fortunately, the Hungarian guests received some praise as well, and they also got some ideas and proposals. Referring precisely to these, Karoly Grosz said in his brief statement that he trusts that the intentions will soon be achieved. Sir David Nickson, president of the Confederation of British Industry, also thought this.

From the scene of the talks, center point, our prime minister, along with British and Hungarian journalists, did a little sightseeing on an Ikarus bus of a British private company, then went to the Ministry of Trade and Industry, where he was received by Lord Young of Graffham, the minister. In their discussions, they also discussed cooperation and relations.

The Hungarian prime minister viewed the bomb shelter that the British Government used during World War II, then left for No 10 Downing Street, the residence of the British prime minister. He was received at the entrance there by Mrs Margaret Thatcher. They then withdrew to hold talks. According to reports that have leaked out, the consultation began with a private exchange of views, and it should be coming to an end about now.

More on Talks With Thatcher

LD0505220788 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Our special correspondent Gabor Bankuti reports on the second day of the visit by Karoly Grosz to Great Britain.

[Bankuti] The Hungarian and British prime ministers' meeting lasted from 1630 until after 1900. According to the good British custom, the comprehensive exchange of views was preceded by discussions on detailed issues of cooperation and economic relations, first with Sir Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, and then with Lord Young of Graffham, secretary of state for trade and industry. However, there also was a meeting with British businessmen, and it emerged that the island country is interested in closer contacts, and there is a readiness to receive competitive Hungarian products to found mixed enterprises. Thus, in point of fact, a very good atmosphere had taken shape by the time the black Bentley with the red, white, and green flag turned into the short street, Downing Street, which is named after its builder and otherwise is closed off even to pedestrians, where no. 10 has been the home of the incumbent prime minister for 253 years.

The hostess, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, received Karoly Grosz in front of the gate in a gray herringbone Chanel suit. After a friendly greeting, the gate closed—only the photographers and television newsreel people could step in for a few minutes in order to take pictures of the two prime ministers in front of the fireplace. Then, they too left, and the discussions got under way in the narrowest circle possible.

At these talks, opinions were exchanged on the main processes of international life. The British prime minister is extremely interested in the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and in the reform processes unfolding in the other socialist countries. Mrs Thatcher also spoke about the experiences of the British restructuring. Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs' attention was caught most by the statement that the processes, which in the long-term are favorable, demand in the short-term severe economic measures, and these are not popular anywhere, but they must be accepted in the interest of the future of a country.

Karoly Grosz invited Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on another visit to Hungary, and he asked her to convey to Queen Elizabeth II an invitation by Karoly Nemeth to visit Hungary.

Before the gala supper in the evening, we witnessed a moving meeting at the lodgings of Karoly Grosz, in the Hyde Park Hotel, where representatives of the Association of British Conductive Education greeted Karoly Grosz in the dance hall with Hungarian flags and inscriptions, and they asked them to provide support for the spread of conductive education, so that the Pethoe Institute could offer as much help as possible to Hungarian and British children, and also to others. At this meeting, Karoly Grosz announced that the Hungarian Government would undertake the patronage of the Pethoe Institute and the creation of an international Pethoe Society. He asked that the British society provide assistance in this.

At 2100, the prime minister of the United Kingdom hosted a festive dinner in honor of Karoly Grosz. In her toast, Margaret Thatcher greeted Karoly Grosz by recalling in warm words Janos Kadar's visit to London, adding that he had not only been the first but until now the only Communist politician who had visited no. 10 Downing Street in his capacity as party general secretary. Recalling her own memories of Budapest, she said that ever since her visit to our country she had been watching with a great deal of interest and deep sympathy what we are doing. The purpose of the visits is to open direct channels for contact between East and West. The creation of British-Hungarian trust was an example for others, too. The huge changes in the international climate were due not exclusively to this, but this was one of the reasons, because others had followed the same principles and the same path.

Mrs Thatcher praised the Hungarian economic and social reform processes, in the introduction of which Hungary had been in the vanguard among the socialist countries, in her opinion. She then quoted Istvan Szechenyi [19th century Hungarian reformer], who wrote the following in his diary: The Germans write a lot, the French talk a lot, and the English do a lot. I can promise, said the British prime minister, that Great Britain will do a great deal to help you. We would like your talks with the European Economic Community to be concluded successfully, she said.

Thanking the host for her words, Karoly Grosz stressed that as a result of high-level meetings there had been substantial progress in economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural relations. Speaking about the latter, he specifically mentioned the help received for bilingual teaching in secondary schools which we would gladly extend to higher education, too.

In his toast, Karoly Grosz also spoke about the favorable international climate which for us was vital. The Hungarian stabilization and resurgence wished to rely more

on the unexhausted resources of international economic cooperation. Hungary was completely open; it welcomed all partners who wanted to participate in the renewal of our economy.

Japan's Abe Arrives for Official Visit 4 May
LD0405194188 Budapest MTI in English
1729 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—A Japanese parliamentary delegation headed by Shintaro Abe, general secretary of the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, arrived in Hungary on Wednesday at the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly.

At Budapest's Ferihegy Airport Shintaro Abe met Istvan Sarlos, speaker of Parliament. Present at the airport was Ryozy Mogi, ambassador of Japan to Hungary.

KYODO Reports Abe Arrival
OW0505032888 Tokyo KYODO in English
0010 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Budapest, March 4 KYODO—Japan's Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Shintaro Abe arrived here Wednesday evening from Prague on the second leg of a 9-day, 3-nation tour.

Abe, the No. 2 man of the Japanese ruling party, will meet Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party, on Thursday.

He will return to Tokyo on Monday following a 3-day stay in France.

Confers With Kadar
LD0405210188 Budapest MTI in English
1910 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Shintaro Abe, general secretary of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party and the ruling party's senior politicians in his company, in the Parliament building of Budapest on Wednesday.

The sides discussed international affairs and laid particular emphasis on Hungarian-Japanese relations. They stressed the importance of establishing lasting links of economic cooperation, and emphasized that the maintenance of high-level political contacts is indispensable for improving the political atmosphere required for economic cooperation.

The meeting was attended by Istvan Sarlos, speaker of Parliament, Jozsef Gyorko, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the HSWP CC, and Ryozy Mogi, ambassador of Japan to Hungary.

KYODO Reports Talks

OW0505050288 Tokyo KYODO in English
0250 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 4 KYODO—Ruling party leaders of Japan and Hungary agreed Wednesday to strengthen economic relations between the two countries, Japanese officials said.

The agreement was reached in a meeting between Shintaro Abe, secretary general of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, and Janos Kadar, general secretary of Hungary's Socialist Workers' Party.

Abe, here on the second leg of a 9-day, 3-European nation tour, met Kadar immediately after his arrival from Prague.

Kadar said Hungary is undertaking a reform program and sought Japanese capital cooperation.

Abe pledged Japan's positive cooperation by expanding private investment and untied loans from the Export-Import Bank of Japan, the officials said.

Kadar did not deny speculation that U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev may hold a summit meeting in Budapest after the summit in Moscow starting May 29.

"We welcome a Budapest summit. (The speculation) is not groundless," Kadar told Abe.

After Hungary, Abe will visit France for 3 days before returning to Tokyo on Monday.

Abe Meets Hungarian Press

OW0605120888 Tokyo KYODO in English
1048 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 6 KYODO—Japan's Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Shintaro Abe said here Friday he and Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita could help expand dialogue between the East and West.

Abe, meeting reporters at a hotel in Budapest, said that Japan is required to consider what it can and should do toward East European countries in order to help improve East-West relations.

The No. 2 man of the Japanese ruling party visited Czechoslovakia between Monday and Wednesday and Hungary Wednesday through Friday.

He met with Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak in Prague and with Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary, in Budapest.

Abe's East Europe visit coincided with Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's visit to Italy, Britain, and West Germany.

Abe said he has sensed high expectations among Czechoslovakian and Hungarian leaders for Japan's help to promote economic reforms.

Japan can cooperate more easily with the two East European countries if they change their political systems in the direction of more democracy and openness and take a realistic line in their foreign policies, he said.

The LDP secretary general said he will make his best efforts to help achieve what Takeshita calls "greater Japanese contribution to the international community" and establish the peace and prosperity of the world.

In a separate session with Japanese reporters accompanying him, Abe talked about Japan's domestic political affairs and said there will be no cabinet reshuffle before a sweeping tax reform is achieved.

Asked about the future of a Japan-U.S. dispute on farm trade, Abe said there still remains room for the two countries to settle the matter through bilateral talks.

Earlier this week, Japan and the United States failed again to agree on how to liberalize Japan's imports of beef, oranges, and orange juice.

Abe, who left Japan May 1, is scheduled to return to Tokyo Monday afternoon after taking a rest in Paris over the weekend.

Western Joint Ventures Criticized at Meeting

AU0405101588 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
4 May 88 p 9

[Text] Vienna—Hungary is not completely happy with the joint ventures with Western companies, Bela Csikos-Nagy, chairman of the Political Economy Society, said at a conference organized by the Zentralsparkasse bank in Vienna. The reason for this is that some joint ventures are not profitable. There is also the problem that the products from the joint ventures should be sold for hard currency in the East Bloc, which is not possible with the current clearing system for trade within CEMA.

For this reason the USSR and Hungary have agreed that achieving convertibility of Eastern currencies must not be the end but the beginning of the reforms in CEMA. Even today some deliveries—such as Hungarian agricultural products for the USSR—are not being paid for in transfer rubles but in hard currency or are compensated for with raw materials and energy deliveries. This system could also be applied to exports of high technology products from Hungarian joint ventures with the West to other CEMA countries.

Hungary wants to turn around the direction of technology transfer, which at present moves from the West to the East. The USSR has, for instance, made excellent developments in the field of laser technology. However, Moscow is incapable of using these achievements commercially. Therefore, joint ventures with Moscow could be established in Hungary on this basis, in which the Soviet developments could be utilized in specific products.

Kadar Meets Foreign TU Officials on May Day
*AU0305144088 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 2 May 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The MSZMP General Secretary Meets Foreign Trade Union Leaders"]

[Text] MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar met in the Parade Square with the foreign trade union leaders who are visiting Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian trade unions on the occasion of the May Day celebrations, and participated in the May Day parade of Budapest workers. Also present at the meeting was MSZMP Politburo Member Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Trade Union Council.

Janos Kadar greeted the guests on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Among other things Janos Kadar said the following: "The festivities here in Budapest represent, at the same time, a message to the other peoples of the world and to all the people who are struggling for social progress. The

festivities express our firm solidarity with the peoples engaged in socialist construction and with nations which are still fighting for their freedom, for the right to decide freely on their road of development and to shape their destiny themselves.

"On this day, all we want to say to all the countries of the world is to live in balanced and constructive relations with each other because, irrespective of the difference in social orders; peace is in the common interest of all nations. We all must collaborate in order to achieve this goal. We want to live together with every honest and peace-loving man in a more peaceful world."

Syrian Official Departs After Visit
*AU0305114788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 29 Apr 88 p 7*

[Text] Major General Jalal al-Jihni, head of the Main Political Department of the Syrian Armed Forces, paid a visit to Hungary as head of a delegation and left Hungary on 28 April.

Briefs

Bishop Toth Visits U.S.

The regular meeting between leaders of the U.S. Christian churches and leaders of the churches in the socialist countries was recently held in Chicago. The Hungarian delegation was led by Bishop Karoly Toth, chairman of the National Synod of Bishops and chairman of the Christian Peace Conference. [Excerpts] *[AU050510478 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 May 88 p 5]*

Further Reportage on Work Stoppages 5 May

Urban Confirms Nowa Huta Arrests

LD0505103188 Hamburg DPA in German
0940 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban confirmed Thursday morning that police entered the Nowa Huta steel mill and arrested members of the strike committee. Several members escaped and police have now left the site. "In general," work continued this morning. No more police have gone to the mill.

Urban reported that around 1,000 strikers were at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk on Thursday morning and occupying the site. At the moment, the expediency of continuing to work at the shipyard was being considered from the point of view of economics. According to his information, around 400 people were not working at the "Paris Commune" shipyard in Gdansk and were calling on their colleagues to strike. In the North Harbor [Port of Gdansk] in Gdansk around 60 people are on strike and are calling for more strikes. The drivers in two bus depots in Szczecin have announced a strike.

Workers leader Lech Walesa spent the night at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk and is still there this morning. In a declaration published in the early hours of today the strike committee demanded negotiations instead of a "suspension of work" at the shipyard. The strike will continue. The negotiators mediating on the instructions of the Catholic Church in Gdansk, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski, went to the shipyard on Thursday to speak with the director. Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik was released on Thursday in Gdansk. However, the Solidarity Spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz was arrested in Warsaw after his house was searched.

Warsaw Reports on Intervention

LD0505104788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] A moment ago the Interior Ministry press spokesman informed us that, on the night of 4-5 May, the forces of order entered the Nowa Huta Metallurgical Combine and escorted the organizers of the illegal strike out of the combine. Among them were a few persons not employed by the steel mill. They offered no resistance whatsoever, and the functionaries of the forces of order refrained from using force or coercion.

No one sustained even the smallest injuries.

The operation to end the illegal strike at the plant lasted several tens of minutes.

Thirty-eight people have been detained and taken to the voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Krakow.

Reverend Zaleski was at the steel mill with the strikers. The functionaries took the priest to the headquarters of the Metropolitan Curia in Krakow and handed him over to Father (?Fideus), the chancellor.

Steelworks Resumes Operations

LD0505110488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Literally just a moment ago our Krakow correspondent has let us have the report that the mechanical casting shop of the Nowa Huta Metallurgical Combine is already working.

As far as the hot rolling shop is concerned, what is required to start production is to get the workforce numbers up to strength and to get the heating equipment to generate the temperature necessary for the rolling operations.

In the casting and tinning sections, recoiler units have started up work at the cold metal shop, where the finishing section has also begun work on a part-time basis.

Work to start up rolling mills is continuing. It is clear from the activities to start up individual assemblies, equipment, and shops that the Steelworks will operate to full capacity during the second shift.

Losses Reportedly Total Z6.7 Billion

LD0505180088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Our correspondent reports that the losses caused by the conflict at the Nowa Huta Steelworks are more than Z6.7 billion. Profits have been reduced by Z600 million.

On the second shift today 35 percent of the crew was not working, the majority due to sick leave.

Intruders Removed at Wroclaw Factory

LD0505144288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] At the Dolmel electrical machinery factory in Wroclaw today, a group of people who were not employed there forced their way into the premises. Among them was Jozef Pinior. The group did not respond to an appeal to leave the enterprise, and subsequently members of the industrial guard and the civic militia volunteer reserve attempted to remove the intruders. During this action the commander of Dolmei's industrial guard had his arm broken. Jozef Pinior and those accompanying him were taken to the Regional Office of Internal Affairs.

Intruders Arrested

LD0505195388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Today, a group of people not employed at the Dolmel electrical engineering plant in Wroclaw forced their way onto the premises. Among them was Jozef Pinior. Appeals to leave the plant went unheeded. In this situation, industrial guards and members of ORMO [Civic Militia Volunteer Reserve] tried to remove the intruders. During this operation, the commandant of the Dolmel Industrial Guards had his arm broken. Here is our report:

[Begin recording] [Commandant] My name is Robert (Zuchowski) and I am the Commandant of the Industrial Guards at the Dolmel plant. We had a report from a guard at 1200 that a group of people had got through the fence. We went to B Hall, looking for these gentlemen. The workers pointed out the room where they were [words indistinct]. When we approached, they came out. Borowczyk had a large bag, a black bag with leaflets. He started to throw them and then I went up to Borowczyk and said: Mr Borowczyk, Industrial Guards. Come with me [words indistinct]. I took his arm and we walked a bit and then came the moment when he hit me with his elbow and then I struck the wall and tripped over a (?water-pipe) and fell down. I got up, without even feeling that something was broken, and grabbed him a second time [words indistinct] and at that moment an ORMO man jumped in and put the handcuffs on him. I smelt gas then. Our men were unarmed and without gas. Other people grabbed Pinior and took him to the car. We had a similar fuss on the 28th in front of the plant. They shouted through a megaphone. Mr Pinior...Mr Borowczyk threw leaflets again in front of the plant. [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] What is the situation at Dolmel now?

[Commandant] Everybody is working normally.

Michnik: Problems Could Spark Civil War

AU0505150688 Paris AFP in English
1451 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, May 5 (AFP)—Poland will be torn apart by civil war if the government fails to settle the country's current problems, a close aide of Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, said Thursday.

Mr. Walesa's adviser, Adam Michnik, released Thursday after being held for two days by police, said Solidarity leaders were "still open to proposals by the government," after police stormed the Nowa Huta steelworks which had been occupied by strikers demanding better pay and working conditions.

But "civil war awaits all Polish people if no solution is found," Mr. Michnik, a renowned historian, added.

OPZZ for Workers' 'Fight' Not Strikes

LD0505151988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] At a meeting, which ended today, the OPZZ Executive Committee stated that the trade unions are bound to undertake a genuine fight in defense of the interests of working people. For this reason the committee, after acquainting itself with the present situation, is in solidarity with the work forces of the factories and their trade unions. It supports all legal actions in defense of employees' interests and their fight to maintain real wages and their living standard. The committee states that the inappropriate decisions concerning prices and wages, ruining the market and intensifying inflation, and the tax system, throttling the supply of market goods and services, have resulted in the present state of affairs.

The adopted stance stresses the inconsistent, bureaucratic and chaotic [bezładny] implementation of the reform, which undermined society's confidence in real changes in the economy. The trade unions, however, are firmly opposed to wildcat strikes and exploitation of the class, worker protest in the interest of various kinds of politicking. Wildcat strikes weaken the effectiveness of the actions of trade unionists. So the committee has appealed to trade union organizations to act in accordance with the existing legal order.

The OPZZ Executive Committee has also demanded that the Council of Ministers introduce self-initiated corrections to the bill on extraordinary powers and authorizations for the Council of Ministers, removing from the bill the limitations on the powers of the trade unions.

Warsaw on Need for 'Normal' Life

LD0505153388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1405 GMT 5 May 88

[Maciej Drus Commentary]

[Text] I am looking through the headlines in today's papers. "Force is in Conflict with Polish Tradition and Culture," "This Gives Rise to Concern and Unease," "The Situation in Nowa Huta and the Gdansk Shipyard," "This is Not in the Interests of Poles!" "We Must Speed Up, Not Hold Back."

Enough. Haven't we got enough troubles, worries and even torment [Udrekas]? Everybody, saturated by news like this, begins to look around impatiently; to think with concern about tomorrow; can't work normally. If he has been through a similar situation more than once before, then his unease grows; his imagination presents visions which are simply paralyzing.

I don't want to take a tone of disaster, to create one more annoyance for my fellow-countrymen, who are already tired enough. Exactly the opposite. I want to encourage everybody to joint reflection about what to do to make

life in Poland normal. Saying normal, I mean the material and spiritual standard of (this) life. I exclude any kind of activity hampering or delaying the achievement of this kind of standard; such an atmosphere of life in our country would suit the majority of Poles.

Different statements and opinions on this subject are appearing now. I have chosen an excerpt from one of them; by Dr Jerzy (Prywara) of the University of Silesia: If the reform is to be the road to achieving this goal, Dr (Przywara) says, then it must take into greater account factors like social impatience, particularly since it is not in every profession and workplace that one's own labor productivity and initiative has a direct bearing on the level of pay. More often it is (still) a slogan without backing.

The papers print a poster linked with the elections to People's Councils. It shows a Polish family standing in front of a building, with the caption: Poland is our concern, hope, joy. Everything boils down to this: That there should be as few worries as possible and more hope and most of all, Joy. I wish myself and all my fellow-countrymen this. Maciej Drus.

1-Day Strike Reported at Universities

LD0505155588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The 1-day sit-in strike announced for today at Warsaw University began at 8 o'clock in the morning. We couldn't get into the University courtyard, because the rector didn't agree to it. A group of striking students put forward demands which included: A halt to interference in and curtailment of the self-government and autonomy of universities by a change in the Higher Education Act.

The strike was not supported by the University Council, the Union of Polish Students (ZSP) and students from the Journalism and Political Sciences Department.

And at Gdansk Technical University, thanks to a firm stance by the rector, the situation is normal.

At the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, there has been a meeting of the university's self-government with the rector's authorities. The rector briefed the meeting about the extension of the number of students in the University Senate and about the creation of a special Commission for Student Affairs. No strike was started at Krakow University.

Port Director Denies Strike Attempted

LD0505163288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] In connection with the information given by the government press spokesman during his news conference—that this morning 60 employees tried to organize

a strike in region Four of Gdansk Port, popularly called the Northern port—PAP has received a denial from (Wojciech Przegieta), the director in Chief of the commercial seaport.

He declares that the news is untrue and asks for it to be corrected in the mass media. The workforce of Gdansk Port and particularly the employees of region four have been and are working without disruption of any kind, and without trying to cause work stoppages, declared director in chief of Gdansk Commercial Seaport (Wojciech Przegieta).

Bus Crews End Morning Strike

LD0505163588 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpt] Work crews of the voivodship municipal transport enterprise bases in Struga Street and in Police stopped work this morning. Although buses and trolleys were running normally in the town center the inhabitants of the right bank and of Police faced difficulties getting to work and school. At about 1315 after hearing the enterprise director and the voivodship prosecutor, the strike by the work crew at the depot in Police ended, and the buses returned to normal working. At 1530 the strike at the Struga Street depot was resolved. [passage omitted]

Work Reported Normal in Gdynia

LD0505104888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Our correspondent reported from Gdansk just a moment ago that work is proceeding normally—following a brief break—in the K1 and K2 sections of the Komuna Paryska shipyard in Gdynia, as is also the case with the remaining sections of the Gdynia shipyard.

Gdansk Shipyard Occupation Continues

LD0505110888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] [Presenter] Olgierd Pawlowski reporting from Gdansk: The Lenin Shipyard, 10 o'clock; I am speaking to (Woldzimierz Ziolkowski), the press spokesman of the chief director of the shipyard:

[[Ziolkowski]] The current situation in the shipyard is as follows: After the broadcast of the communiques and posting of the printed communiques in the tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] and the area of tri-city and the broadcast of the communiques by Polish radio, a considerable proportion of employees did not come to the shipyard and those occupying the number two gate and the buildings near it failed to observe the communique and are continuing to occupy the gates. It does not look as if they are going to give it up. The numbers in this group have not changed. Apart from this only technical maintenance staff are at the shipyard.

[Pawlowski] When you are speaking about the communique, do you have in mind the communique stating that the production activity of the shipyard has been suspended?

[(Ziolkowski)] That's exactly what I had in mind.

[Pawlowski] Since when has this been in force?

[(Ziolkowski)] The communique was broadcast for the first time at 3 in the morning and it continued to be broadcast at regular intervals until 0800, more intensively before 6 until 7.

[Pawlowski] The best proof of this is that many employees, even those commuting from far away, did not come to the shipyard?

[(Ziolkowski)] Yes, we have confirmation that only a few employees came to work, for various reasons. According to my information most of these few who came did so because they are worried about the functioning of the shipyard and their work stations.

Walesa: Gdansk, Nowa Huta 'Different'
LD0505123488 Hamburg DPA in German
1750 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In Gdansk on Thursday afternoon the police have surrounded the shipyard site with a dense cordon to keep the population away from the shipyard gates. The strikers, who are occupying the yard, are standing at and on the gate. Workers' leader Lech Walesa is still in the grounds of the shipyard.

In an interview with Western correspondents he said the moment is now coming in which the leadership will reach for a similar solution to that in Nowa Huta. Once again the government is wasting opportunities for sensible and useful solutions. It is leading the country to an "unnecessary ruin." In Gdansk the situation is somewhat different to that in Nowa Huta. "the cradle of Solidarity is here." Following the events in Nowa Huta he no longer believes in reason from those in government. What has taken place so far is only a "psychological prelude. One thing is clear. I will be the last to leave. I cannot act any other way."

Gdansk Party Organ Scores Strike
LD0505155088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1500 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] In Gdansk the voivodship Commission for Cooperation of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD with the participation of the chairmen of social and youth organizations and the chairman of the Voivodship People's Council and the Gdansk Voivoda has acquainted itself with the sociopolitical and economic situation in the voivodship, particularly in Gdansk Shipyard.

It was stated that extremist forces, breaking the law, are acting to achieve their political goals, which conflict with the interests of working people and the accepted principles of socialist renewal, democratization, and economic reform.

The commission expressed the conviction that the measures being undertaken will lead to a full normalization of the situation, ensuring calm work and consistent implementation of the program of the second stage of the economic reform. Undertakings aimed at increasing production, particularly of market goods, require particular acceleration.

Shipyard Faces 'Catastrophic' Situation
LD0505175188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpts] In the next part of the program we are linking up with the coast:

[Correspondent Trojanowski] Andrzej Trojanowski from the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. [passage omitted]

In accordance with instructions from the director of the shipyard, beginning early this morning, this enterprise suspended production work. In the opinion of the shipyard management, it was impossible to continue production under the given conditions. Unfortunately, a group of strikers is continuing to occupy the enterprise gates. However, as a result of calls by law and order forces at about midday, Gdansk inhabitants, passers-by, and onlookers who had gathered at the square in front of the gate left the square.

I spoke to representatives of the workers' council and shipyard management, who naturally are very upset by the situation. Its prolongation could put the shipyard not only in a difficult, but quite simply catastrophic financial situation. It is probably not necessary to explain what this might mean for employees when, in the second stage of the reform, severe economic laws are in force.

Financial Subsidies Requested
LD0505174588 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] In view of the long-standing financial difficulties of the Gdansk shipyard and in connection with the profound disruptions, which took place recently and are still continuing, in its operations, the minister of industry has requested the minister of finances and the president of the National Bank of Poland to present the possibilities of further credits and subsidies for its operations from the state budget.

'Dozens' Arrested in Nowa Huta

LD0505181188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] We have requested prosecutor Ryszard Rychlik, deputy director of the Penal Procedure Department of the Prosecutor General's Office, for information about today's events in Gdansk and Nowa Huta. He confirmed the information we broadcast earlier [not further specified]; we then asked him about the consequences awaiting the detained organizers of the strike in Nowa Huta.

[Begin Rychlik recording] Several dozen people have been detained. These people's cases are the subject of investigative procedure. During this procedure, all the circumstances of important significance for an assessment of the legal responsibility of those persons will be clarified. During this procedure, the appropriate decisions regarding proceedings at law will also be taken. [end recording]

University Strikes End; Alert Continues

LD0505204288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2000 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Today in several academic centers in Poland attempts were made to disturb academic life, and there were student strikes. Such an attempt at the Gdansk technical university ended in a fiasco. Strikes, which did not last very long, at the Warsaw University and Jagellonian University in Cracow have also ended. A representative of the strike committee of the Independent Association of Students of Warsaw University who did not give his name has announced that the strike in solidarity with the workers, which was announced yesterday during a rally, has ended. The conclusion of the strike took place after 1800 after talks between strike committee representatives and Rector Bialkowaki.

Tomorrow normal classes will begin. However, a strike alert is continuing.

PAP Reports on Steel Losses

LD0505205688 Warsaw PAP in English
2009 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 5: While more and more enterprises are fearing losses to be incurred as a result of lack of materials from the steelworks in Nowa Huta, some are already starting to estimate their losses.

In the Wroclaw-based "Polar" works a general stoppage will take place on May 10 as a result of a complete stop in supplies of cold-rolled sheets from the steelworks in Nowa Huta. In order to maintain production the works need emergency supplies of about 750 tons of several kinds of sheets within 14 days. "Polar" has addressed two foreign trade enterprises with a request to immediately purchase such sheet abroad.

The strike in Nowa Huta has significantly affected the whole economy and will continue to do so for a long time. It will not be possible to make up for all the losses sustained as its result. The point is that the steelworks in Nowa Huta is the beginning of the production process for plants of the automobile, shipbuilding, agricultural machines, engineering, electronics and metallurgic industry.

The chain of co-production links is visible on the example of the "Predom - Metrix" works in Tczew which manufacture manometers. Today they are still operating but have informed their founding body that the stoppage at the Lenin steelworks could cause a stoppage of the production of manometers in June or July.

The "Zastal" works in Zielona Gora will experience difficulties much earlier. Its small reserves of sheets will suffice to maintain production only to the end of this week. The further lack of supplies from the Lenin Steelworks will probably cause the exports production of 904-V dumping wagons to come to a halt as early as Monday.

The Poznan-based harvester machines works have enough cold-rolled sheet from the Lenin steelworks to carry it through to May 15 only. Sheets of other dimensions will have to be used which will entail considerable material and financial losses.

If things stand as they are we will be confronted by a sharp supply crisis, said Maciej Binek, the director of the agricultural machines works in Rogozno, Central Poland. Trying to avert a production stoppage we began negotiations with the "Centrostal" foreign trade enterprise to purchase sheet abroad. The whole economy will sustain losses if these negotiations are to no avail. This is because we are the main producer of complete driers for agriculture in Poland and the CMEA, the director pointed out.

Steelworks Note High Absenteeism

LD0505210688 Warsaw PAP in English
1951 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 5—The situation in the Lenin steel works in Nowa Huta is slowly coming back to normal.

Some of the plants and production units in the cold rolling sheet mill were put on stream today while the tinning plant and the galvanizing line working on the first shift today produced the first batch of sheets after the stoppage. Preparations for starting up work in other departments are under way. The full production capacity will be achieved only after some time as the machines and production units were switched off without proper preparations.

According to the opinion of the steelworks' economic manager Stanislaw Suchonski, the commodity production lost by the steel mill during the strike is worth more

than 6.7 billion zlotys. The steelworks lost the brutto [as received] profit of 0.6 billion zlotys. It is expected that the costs will still increase before the equipment and production units in the departments taking part in the strike reach their full production capacity. The steelworks will have to make up for its arrears in supplies.

Despite a radical change in the situation which took place Thursday, high absenteeism, reaching 30-40 per cent on the second shift is an obstacle in the full normalization of the production. This was caused by the decision of the management of many striking departments to give workers their holidays. There are also some signals as to the pressures exerted on those who want for example to interrupt their sick-leaves or holidays and return to work. Such people were threatened at home.

According to the works' economic experts and according to the figures available to the ministry of Industry work stoppages at some departments led to considerable arrears in the steelworks' production.

On May 4 at 2200 hrs. they were as following: the production of coke — 3,800 tonnes, slabs — 44,300 tonnes, billet — 39,700 tonnes, wire rods — 11,500 tonnes, hoop iron — 19,500 tonnes, hot rolled sheets — 24,500 tonnes, cold rolled sheets — 15,500 tonnes, car body sheets — 16,600 tonnes, galvanized iron — 3,400 tonnes, tinplates — 1,600 tonnes, cold rolled tapes — 3,000 tonnes, pipes — 1,700 tonnes.

Political Tone Noted in Strike

AU0205144388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
30 Apr-1 May 88 p 6

[Article by Ryszard Zatorski: "Who Was Causing Confusion at Stalowa Wola"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It ought to be pointed out here that the call to hold a rally, which did take place and was then turned into a "march" through the factory to get support for a strike, was organized by the illegal so-called Stalowa Wola Steelworks Solidarity Founding Committee.

Andrzej Ulanicki, the steelworks' spokesman, said that several months ago the group submitted a request for registration and continues to call itself a representative of the work force although the request was turned down by the voivodship court and the decision was upheld by the Supreme Court at the beginning of March.

In line with the law, a trade union is already operating at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks, and all quasi union activity is inconsistent with the law, is superfluous. Despite the social demagoguery, those who initiated the action are not concerned about workers' affairs. Their aim is political, and that is a lesson that we have already been through.

Despite warnings, the usurpers then collected signatures and threatened management with "statutory defense measures." As verbal warnings proved ineffective, the three most ardent leaders were transferred to posts of the same status in other departments on the grounds that "confidence had been lost in them as workers employed in defense production." They showed no willingness to change and sought to organize further protests action, culminating in the meeting outside the building belonging to the management of the engineering plant on 21 April. It was meant to be a "dress rehearsal," designed to establish how management would react.

The meeting took place at the end of the first shift and the beginning of the second, because this made it easiest to include those who were coming to work and those who were leaving among those "attending the meeting."

Speeches were made, and political and, for the sake of a "union" alibi, pay demands were issued. Two of the leaders who organized the event were dismissed last Monday [25 April] for disciplinary reasons, that is, for disrupting order at the factory, as the spokesman stresses. [passage omitted]

Zdzislaw Filar [chairman of the official union at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks] says: "According to the law, we can only act as a union with respect to matters concerning working conditions and pay. However, only two of the eleven demands submitted by 'the group roaming about the plant' related exclusively to such issues. The one demand, which is actually in the final stages of being settled, concerned higher wages, and the other was about the restoration of full coal allowances for all employees. The majority of employees at the Stalowa Wola Steelworks receive a cash equivalent. It is widely believed that it would not be logical to distribute a source of energy that is in short supply to people who only use gas or electricity."

Filar says that the other nine demands related to another sphere of problems, they were political demands for, among other things, so-called union pluralism and the acceptance of illegal structures.

The Stalowa Wola case illustrates how efforts are being made to introduce a new dimension into demands that are already the subject of union negotiations. An action is developed in which political elements begin to predominate. [passage omitted]

Perhaps not all of us still remember these shades of pseudo-union activity from the past. However, the past does not return. The workforce of the Stalowa Wola Steelworks is thinking about the future, because it shapes its future.

Politburo's Miodowicz Blames Government
LD0505173188 Hamburg DPA in German
1652 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The chairman of the official Polish Trade Unions, Alfred Miodowicz, blamed the government for the conflict-ridden situation on Thursday and accused it of also wanting to suspend the new trade unions. Miodowicz said at a press conference in Warsaw that the government plan for special powers provides for the temporary suspension of the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] trade union federation. This is in contradiction to the process of democratization that had been introduced and the efforts for national reconciliation.

Miodowicz, a Politburo member, accused the government of arrogance, bureaucratic behavior and disregard for the warning signals articulated by the trade unions. He described the efforts made at reform so far as "erratic and confused". The trade unions have always warned against an official optimism which ignores the realities of life. However, strikes must only be used as a last resort.

Asked about the use of force in Nowa Huta, he said that in principle he opposes violence, but could not side with those who are striking outside the legal trade unions. It is better to stand by the strikers as long as no one from outside joins them.

Miodowicz Press Conference Reported
LD0505211183 Hamburg DPA in German
1907 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The chairman of the official Polish trade unions, Alfred Miodowicz, strongly criticized the government on Thursday and called on it to renounce the planned suspension of various trade union rights. Speaking at a press conference in Warsaw, he said on behalf of the trade union leadership that the suspension of these rights would be a "severe blow" to the trade unions. The latter are recognized by the political leadership and now have over 7 million members.

Miodowicz demanded that this restriction on trade union activity be taken out of the government plans regarding special powers for the government. Otherwise the trade union officials among the PZPR deputies would find themselves in opposition on Wednesday when a vote on this is taken. Miodowicz is a Politburo member.

The trade union leader accused the government of arrogance, bureaucratic behavior, and disregard for the warning signals articulated by the trade unions. The trade unions had always warned against an official optimism which ignored the realities of life. Strikes must, however, only be used as a last resort.

Asked about the use of force in Nowa Huta, Miodowicz said that in principle he opposes violence, but could not side with those who are striking outside the legal trade unions.

(Attention: This makes it clear that in the planned law on the government's special powers it is not the new trade unions but various trade union rights that are to be suspended) [DPA note as received]

West's May Day Protest Coverage Decried
AU0505145988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3 May 88 p 7

[Rudolf Hoffman article: "They Do Not See, They Do Not Hear, and...They Cheat"]

[Text] Listening to the reports on this year's 1 May celebrations in our country that were carried by a Western radio station broadcasting in Polish, you could have received the impression that the streets of many Polish towns resembled something out of an American western.

Working according to a scenario that was prepared in advance, their reporters completely ignored the fact that millions of working people took part in the various parades.

Instead, listeners were served up scenes involving street battles, arrests, and other images that make you shiver. As usual, Munich-based RADIO FREE EUROPE was ahead of the rest. Its reporters, who kept in touch with their "spokesmen" from the defunct Solidarity union in various Polish cities, which were surely not chosen at random, requested bloodcurdling accounts of illegal May Day pranks that were organized with the expenditure of a great deal of energy but produced miserable results more often than not.

Alina Grabowska tried to shock listeners with the following description: "PPR security forces behaved scandalously and brutally. They demonstrated the supremacy of the baton and the water canon. People were seized and hunted down, and they sought to force their way into places of worship."

Another correspondent, this time it was VOICE OF AMERICA's Zbigniew Romaszewski, reported "his" 1 May celebrations in Warsaw as follows: "The militia and the secret police, who were placed among the marchers, attacked demonstrators with the help of batons and the poles used for banners."

Britain's BBC was generally more restrained. Quoting reports filed by REUTER and AFP that were obtained from Solidarity sources, it described an attempt to organize an illegal demonstration in Wroclaw as follows: "Fights, clashes with the police, which behaved very brutally, panic. Some of the people began to withdraw

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toward the church, others sought to break through the ranks of the units of the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia and the plainclothesmen to disperse in various directions.

REUTER reported: "The militia dispersed an illegal gathering in Lodz using batons and tear gas canisters fired from hand-held launchers."

However, for the sake of the truth, it ought to be added that the BBC was the only Polish language radio station that dared to report those parts of the Polish Government spokesman's press conference that indicated that very few people were involved in these supposedly spontaneous scuffles.

The enormous propaganda support provided by Western Polish language radio stations was of no use. It failed to spoil the calm atmosphere and prevent mass public participation in the traditional May Day celebrations. Sunny, warm weather added to the festive mood, but the Western radio stations failed to notice it. They do not see and they do not hear and, as if that was not enough, they also cheat.

U.S. Coverage of Strikes Reviewed

AU0505115188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
3 May 88 pp 2, 6

[Dispatch by Zygmunt Broniarek, permanent correspondent in Washington: "The U.S. Press: Attempts to Distort Polish Reality"]

[Text] On Monday [2 May] AP carried a 2 May report by Bogdan Turek on Jerzy Urban's Sunday press conference, at which he called part of the Western press' reporting from Poland "a parody of information."

American television and the American press are conveying to opinion in the United States images and articles that are designed to create the impression that Poland is on the edge of "rebellion." Reporters have been focusing their attention on clashes between demonstrators and the militia while clearly ignoring the mass 1 May events that expressed support for the government and the party.

However, even in reports that seek to misrepresent reality one can sometimes find more realistic elements. So, on Monday, 2 May, the BALTIMORE SUN carried a report on its front page with the following statement as its principal subhead: "General Wojciech Jaruzelski says: 'It is not possible to solve all existing problems quickly.'" Apart from the BALTIMORE SUN, the WASHINGTON POST and the NEW YORK TIMES also quoted W. Jaruzelski: "We are continuing to work in an extremely difficult situation, in the midst of growing difficulties."

The BALTIMORE SUN writes: "The government could give in to the demands for wage raises, but its representatives fear that, if they agree to these raises wholesale, it

will lead to the kind of chaos that hit the country in 1981, when stocks of goods were bought up and there was a shortage of even basic commodities." In this context, Jackson Diehl, the WASHINGTON POST's correspondent in Warsaw, quotes W. Jaruzelski, "who recalled the memorable period of 1981, which was characterized by the fact that there was nothing on the shelves apart from vinegar." "Jaruzelski's government," continues Diehl, "has frequently warned that wage demands are excessive and they may lead to an explosive inflationary spiral or the collapse of the domestic market. However, directors have been giving in to the demands..."

An important aspect of the reports filed from Poland by American correspondents is the emphasis that is placed on the authorities' determination not to abandon the "policy of openness, democratization, and national reconciliation," and, at the same time, not to permit chaos and anarchy. AP's John Daniszewski writes in the WASHINGTON TIMES that W. Jaruzelski said: "Let no one count on us growing weary. There will be no dismantling of the political foundations of our country."

Warsaw Views West's Strike Coverage

LD0505114988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Foreign news agencies have lately been devoting much space to Poland. What is written and said revolves, above all, around the pay and other conflicts in the Gdansk shipyard and Nowa Huta. You can draw an unequivocal dividing line here: Radio stations broadcasting in Polish try to create an atmosphere of hysteria, one that is conducive to strikes, while other serious mass media try to appraise the situation in Poland in a realistic and relatively objective way. Here is Andrzej Walatek's commentary on this subject:

[Walatek] Opinion is, indeed, divided, but you can very easily discern the authors intentions. It must be admitted that even though the radio stations which are hostile to Poland are broadcasting in Polish, it is the realistic assessments, the ones which do reflect the situation in our country, that are gaining the upper hand.

For instance, the British daily YORK POST states: It has, sadly, to be said that in view of the sorry state of the Polish economy, for which neither Poles nor the system are to blame, the pay rise demands being made in the Gdansk shipyard and in Nowa Huta are, in the current situation, quite unrealistic.

The Polish public will have to bear the painful costs of the price rises and inflation, the low wages and shortages in supplies.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS agency writes about the dangers which the new pay demands pose for the reform programs. What the strikers demand is fraught with the danger that the plans to reform the sick Polish economy

will be wrecked. It is the entire society which will have to pay for any potential victory of the strikers. Hence, from this point of view, the whole action is a patent nonsense.

The commentator for the Austrian daily SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN puts the issue even more clearly. The current strike wave, he writes, emphasizes the Polish dilemma yet again. It emphasizes that economic reform cannot succeed without citizens making material sacrifices. The government increased prices to curtail subsidies and to release capital for the most essential investment projects and to fortify purchasing power. Neither the government nor the country nor society are, in the current circumstances, able to afford to continue the strike, for this would be tantamount to economic suicide, stated a CBS TV commentator from Washington.

VOA Comment on Reforms Cited

LD0505154388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1415 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Yesterday evening at 11 o'clock the Voice of America broadcast an editorial commentary which reflected, as announced in the title, the opinions of the United States Government on the situation in Poland. I would like to cite a fragment, and I quote: "For decades the regimes of the Soviet bloc have been offering society the following arrangements: Accept political indifference, a lower standard of living and in exchange you're not going to have to work productively. However, economic conditions have grown worse and a whole array of states in the Soviet bloc, including Poland also, have prepared plans for so-called reforms, calling for greater effort and sacrifices. It is understandable that Polish society accepted the prospect of harder work and a drastic fall in the standard of living without any enthusiasm. In order for the Polish economy to start functioning more efficiently, broadly drawn up economic changes are needed. The best chances of success are promised by a reform with a market character, such as those which are being proposed by the present authorities. However, all kinds of economic changes prove to be unsuccessful without public support."

One could not say that these words evince a sympathy for Polish society, which is most explicitly treated as having a low level of understanding and being lazy. But whatever it is based on, they know there what they're talking about when it comes to economics. Hence the encouraging words on the Polish economic reform. The last sentence on the need for public support for the reforms also reflects my views, that is those of Marek (Legicki); and also as I believe, those of the Polish Government and the majority of the Polish people.

U.S. Officials Explain Reagan Remarks

LD0505223388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2115 GMT 5 May 88

[From the "World Panorama" program]

[Text] In tonight's "World Panorama" we want to start with thoughts on the subject of the events in Poland and the international situation, and precisely how this issue

is presented by others. At the same time, not only official statements but also remarks made on the fringe of these statements, remarks which may be considered as interpretation of statements, are significant here. I mean here private statements by White House officials, carried by REUTER, after yesterday's brief remarks by President Reagan in Chicago, mentioning among other things the hope for a reform and the curing of the Polish economy which is awaited by Polish society.

These U.S. officials privately expressed their concern about the tension in Poland on the eve of Ronald Reagan's and Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting, to be held, let me remind you, between 29 May and 2 June this year.

These officials said that Reagan's remarks on the situation in Poland were not intended to inflame the situation. We do not want to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, they said, but of course we would not like very much a situation in which the progress that has been achieved might be thrown away. In other words, it is indirectly implied in Washington that the events in Poland could have a negative impact on this promising dialogue which is being conducted between East and West.

Activist Interviewed After Expulsion

AU0505174488 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1600 GMT 5 May 88

[Interview with Kornel Morawiecki, leader of the underground organization "Fighting Solidarity," by Austrian reporter Karl Stipsicz in Vienna on 5 May; Morawiecki statements in Polish with superimposed German translation]

[Text] A week ago the Polish underground leader Kornel Morawietzky was still imprisoned in Poland; 2 days ago he was in Rome where he was received by Pope John Paul II; yesterday he was at Warsaw Airport, and today he is in Vienna. Kornel Morawietzky was expelled to the West by the Polish authorities yesterday (4 May). Following the imposition of martial law he worked underground for 6 years, and last November he was arrested on charges of alleged terrorist activities and imprisoned without sentence.

Morawiecki is leader of the underground organization "Fighting Solidarity," a radical whom the Polish Government wants to get rid of in the current situation. Morawiecki had left Warsaw after he had been given a guarantee by the Polish Bishops' Conference that could return to Poland any time.

Karl Stipsicz spoke with the Polish activist in Vienna this afternoon.

[Stipsicz] What would you have done if you had gone back?

[Morawiecki] You mean if I had been allowed to go back. If I had not been arrested, I would have gone to one of the committees that are currently staging the strikes.

[Stipsicz] Mr Morawiecki, how do you think things will develop in Poland after the police arrested the members of the strike committee at the Nowa Huta Works this morning?

[Morawiecki] There are numerous large works in Poland. The Poles do not like to be forcibly driven from their own works, they do not like it if violence is used on them. I think that now the strike wave will be limited somewhat, but not stopped altogether.

[Stipsicz] How do you think the strikes will end?

[Morawiecki] The government must give in. It must make considerable concessions. This might include the reactivation, the legalization of Solidarity. But I hope that the wave of strikes will also lead to changes within the current government. It is a government that carries the stigma of having imposed martial law, of having governed for years without carrying out reforms, of not having changed the life, the living conditions of the people, and of not having listened to the people.

[Stipsicz] What are your plans? How do you want to return to Poland?

[Morawiecki] I would like to direct public attention to my case here to defend myself. And I will try to have this matter settled by the PPR Bishops' Conference, because this conference guaranteed that I could return to Poland.

New Nowa Huta Strike Committee Formed
LD0505223988 Hamburg DPA in German
2208 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Nowa Huta (DPA) — Six members of the strike committee in the Polish steel mill at Nowa Huta, who managed to escape the police operation on Thursday, have now formed a new strike committee. They have called on the workers at the mill to carry on the strike outside the factory. Among those who escaped is strike leader Andrzej Szewczuwaniec. After the violent police operation he hid for several hours under the axle of a rail wagon, he told friends.

Once the coast was clear, he contacted various departments and organized a protest march in which some 2,000 persons took part. This was apparently broken up after a short while by new special police units. He stayed in the combine until about 1300, and even took a shower and changed in the rolling mill.

He said that the strike organization would now have to be fully restructured. The strike had from the very beginning involved the banned trade union Solidarity. However, this point was deliberately not included in the

catalogue of demands. The intention was to get the management to speak with the committee and thus de facto to recognize Solidarity.

In the evening, a mass took place in a Nowa Huta church with the participation of several thousand workers. Eyewitness accounts of the events during the night were put together at various points. From this it emerges that some people were injured, mainly with broken bones. Despite asking around hospitals, no precise number could be given. An antiterrorist brigade also apparently took part in the operation, and was transported away again on Thursday in helicopters.

Normalcy Reportedly Being Restored
LD0605000188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2300 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Nowa Huta—A normal production rhythm is gradually being restored in the metallurgical combine. Among other things, work was being carried out to start up the metal mill, the wire mill, and the strip mill.

The lack of full complements of workers at the production workstations represents the main problem. It was possible to start some of the sections on a single shift basis.

Gerasimov Cited on Polish Events
LD0605022788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Continuing our bulletin, we now have a report from Moscow:

[Correspondent Leslaw Novak] Three questions put by correspondents—from the U.S. ABC and CBS Television networks and the Spanish EFE agency—at today's press conference by the Soviet Foreign Ministry press spokesman revolved around events in Poland. The questions were about the USSR Government's position and whether a possible failure of the second stage of reform in Poland could influence restructuring by holding it back.

In his reply, Gennadiy Gerasimov pointed out that these events were of an internal nature. He said, and I quote: We are pursuing them, but these events are taking place in Poland and not in the USSR. Poland proceeds along her own path and we proceed along our own path.

We, said the spokesman, have problems of our own, connected with restructuring. A discussion is underway about prices, about satisfying public demand, and about other important issues.

The Soviet press, radio, and television have, for some days now, been providing information about strikes in our country. The statements by Government Spokesman

Jerzy Urban concerning this matter are quoted. Today's editions of central dailies carry the text of the communique from the session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

Gdansk Operations Continue Suspended 6 May

Orzechowski Comments on Unrest
LD0605003588 Warsaw PAP in English
0010 GMT 6 May 88

["Press Review"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—Newspapers bring front page reports on the situation in the giant steelworks in Krakow coming back to normal and on the situation in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk whose operation has been suspended until further notice.

Yesterday's press conference on current situation in this country by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban also features prominently.

Papers report on the latest meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ which appraised the current situation in the country and adopted a stance on the issue.

Frontpage treatment is accorded to the reception by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PUWP CC first secretary, of Miú Dobrescu, chairman of the Romanian General Trade Union Confederation.

TRYBUNA LUDU carries an extensive article on the recent wave of labour unrest and comments on the approach of Western mass media to the developments in Poland. Its commentator also deals with the stance of the Polish Episcopate to the work stoppages.

Today's papers, among them TRYBUNA LUDU, carry an article written by Marian Orzechowski, Poland's foreign affairs minister, headlined "Poles Themselves Build Poland's Position and Prestige" on the effects of the recent labour unrest in this country. Excerpts:

"The return of strike chaos and a fresh deterioration of the situation in our country would result in disastrous consequences not only for the living standard of the working people, all Poles. This would also be a blow to Poland's international position. We are feeling a foretaste of this exactly in these days.

"Friends, all those who wish us the best, today look at our country with heightened attention. Among those watching are also those who are not interested in Poland being strong, those who want to use our failures for their own ends.

"We appreciate the re-evaluations taking place in recent years in the policy of the West with regard to our country. The resumption of political dialogue in bilateral

relations followed by its normalization was an expression of this. Unfortunately and not through our fault, progress in economic cooperation is still small and actual discrimination in credit-financial relations continues. So far the support of the West for the healing of the Polish economy has only a declarative character. Words were not and are not followed by deeds.

"The latest events have once again confirmed that Poland is treated as an instrument. The main outline of Western strategy with regard to our country is becoming clear: Making possible economic concessions conditional upon progress in national agreement achieved according to their yardsticks and models, upon the legalization of the activities of anti-constitutional groupings and acknowledgement that they are a lasting element of our political system.

"Of course the stance of our partners from the West is not uniform. Realism and a readiness to pursue equal rights, mutually advantageous cooperation in some places is greater, in others smaller. Those countries also do not lack forces or social circles favourably disposed towards Poland and Poles, which grasp the whole complexity of our situation. In politics, nonetheless, it is the facts that count.

"A duality, if not a hypocritical approach is notable in the reactions of some Western countries towards the development of the events in Poland. On the one hand there are carefully balanced official statements. On the other—a massed propaganda campaign which uses all the means at its disposal, outright encouragement to strike.

"Regardless of what will happen in our country tomorrow, a week or month from, Poland's picture of 1988 has already suffered serious damage. [sentence as received] This process not only must be but can be stopped and reversed. The most vital interests of the Polish nation, the good and peaceful future of the fatherland call for this.

Prosecutor Begins Investigation

LD0605053088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Unfortunately, a group of shipyard workers, which admittedly is growing smaller, is continuing to occupy the gates of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard which, as is known, has suspended production since yesterday. The Gdansk Voivodship prosecutor, however, in connection with the infringement of regulations of the Law on Trade Unions and the lack of reaction to a call, which has been made many times, to conform to obligatory legal regulations, has begun investigations based on Article 54 of the 10 October 1982 law in the case against those leading the illegally organized strike in the Gdansk Shipyard, which is aimed at a comprehensive explanation of all the important circumstances of penal responsibility in this matter.

Gdansk Area Transit Operating

LD0605055088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] The inhabitants of the Tricity: Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot, going to work today were able to avail themselves, among other things, of the services of the rapid suburban train network which brings, as is usually the case each day, thousands of commuters, despite the fact that, to give an example of Free Europe's report yesterday, this rail network was at a standstill yesterday.

Shipyard Directors Issue Communiqué

LD0605082088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 6 May 88

[Correspondent Andrzej Trajanowski report from Gdansk]

[Excerpts] I have just returned from Gdansk's Lenin shipyard. [passage omitted]

For several successive hours the shipyard director's communiqué has been broadcast over the shipyard's broadcasting system. Here are its contents:

In spite of the decision to suspend activity, I state that a considerable, although declining, group still occupies the gate, delaying the date of a return to normal working conditions and increasing already considerable losses. Once again I recommend that my decisions be heeded and that you leave the enterprise, thereby ending the purposeless show and abandoning the role imposed on you by professional players who want to stage a reminder of their existence at your cost. I warn that further ignoring of my recommendations and the maintenance of a situation endangering the existence of the shipyard will force me to apply other solutions, the shipyard director stated.

Unfortunately, the communiqué has brought no great results as yet. Currently, the number of strikers is assessed at 700-800 people.

At the same time it is worth recalling the communiqué of the Trade Union of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard Employees, which has somewhat disappeared from the attention of the mass media, and it is an unusually important piece of information for employees of the shipyard as also for a clarity of the picture of the events in the Gdansk shipyard. It deals with the drawing up of, as a result of negotiations, a joint standpoint with the management, concerning pay, length of service supplements (dodatek stazowy), a coal allowance, and the so-called tourist tax. Trade unionists received these decisions with satisfaction.

Strikers Call for Negotiations

LD0605095988 Hamburg DPA in German
0904 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Striking workers Friday morning continued to occupy the Lenin Shipyard at Danzig (Gdansk). Over loudspeakers this morning the shipyard director called for the strikers to leave the premises. Shipyard management would otherwise be forced "to have recourse to other methods," the call said.

The strikers called for negotiations during the night. On account of the strike, work was stopped at the yard until further notice. On Thursday management told all workers not to come to work. During the work stoppage at the yard, they will receive paid leave. In view of the severe financial situation, management says the yard is threatened with bankruptcy. The responsible ministry had applied to the national bank for new credits and subsidies.

Friday at the steel mill in Nowa Huta work was in progress. According to sources from the banned trade union Solidarity, many workers did not appear for the early shift. Workers were offered new contracts with a wage increase of 10,500 zloty (about 40 marks). Many are said to have refused to sign. During the night police operation at Nowa Huta Thursday at least six of the strike committee escaped. They founded a new committee and called for the strike to continue. Among them are strike leader Andrzej Szewczuwaniec and Stanislaw Handzlik of Solidarity.

Polish newspapers Friday, pointed to the economic damage caused by the strike, which is bringing Poland's international respect into discredit. The party papers published an article by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski in which he refers to the importance of Polish stability for perestroika (restructuring) in the Soviet Union and security in Europe.

Shipyard Gate Picket 'Nervous'

LD0605103188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 6 May 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I am starting the full service of the noon bulletin with a telephone conversation with Włodzimierz Ziolkowski, the Lenin shipyard spokesman in Gdansk:

[Ziolkowski] The situation in the shipyard has not changed much since yesterday. The gates continue to be occupied. [passage omitted]

The group occupying the gate seems to have gotten somewhat smaller, the majority of the people have changed from their coveralls into their own clothes. According to information from people going into the

shipyard, that is, workers going to work to secure plant, it seems that the nervous reaction of those occupying the gate has increased in relation to the number of those going in.

Doctor Denies Injuries at Nowa Huta

LD0605105388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] In connection with the many provocative rumors aimed at spreading concern in society and also in response to questions by the citizens of Krakow, which have been put to health service workers and social care offices and institutions, Zdzislaw Wojcik, the voivodship doctor in Krakow, states that in the course of actions undertaken to bring order to the metallurgical combine in Nowa Huta on 5 May, no one from among the workers of the combine or officials of the law and order agencies received injuries which required the intervention and help of the medical services.

Nowa Huta Striker Vows Fight to Finish

AU0605105588 Paris AFP in English
1028 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 5 (AFP)—Strikes continued at the Nowa Huta steel-mills Friday despite massive police intervention early Thursday and the arrest of many members of the 19-strong strike committee.

Strike leader Andrzej Szewczuwaniec announced that the walkout will go on. "We will fight to the finish," a statement by strikers made available to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here said.

Mr. Szewczuwaniec called on metalworkers "all over the world" to support their action, according to informed sources at the steelworks in southern Poland.

A new strike committee was created at Nowa Huta including Mr. Szewczuwaniec and five other members of the former panel, who had escaped arrest by police on Thursday.

About 12,000 of a total of 20,000 workers in four workshops and the steel-mill's coking plant have been striking since April 26.

Strikers are calling for substantial pay rises, union pluralism and the re-hiring of workers fired over the past years for activities within the outlawed Solidarity union.

A demand for the immediate release of the 40 or so people arrested in the police crackdown on Thursday was included Friday.

Some 50 people were injured when police penetrated into the plant before dawn Thursday, with 40 being hospitalized.

According to officials, work at the steelworks resumed "partially". Police were still deployed in strength on the premises.

Several hundred demonstrators were brutally dispersed by police at Nowa Huta late Thursday when they tried to form a protest march after a service at the Saint Maximilian Kolbe church attended by nearly 10,000 people.

Meanwhile at Gdansk, northern Poland, several thousand workers of the Lenin shipyards, including Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, spent the night steeling themselves for police intervention, while hundreds of riot police in combat gear and carrying truncheons ringed the yards.

Mr. Walesa said on Thursday he would be "the last" to leave the premises. "We will fight to the end," he added.

Sixty-year old strike leader Alojzy Szablewski vowed that he and his colleagues "will not allow ourselves to be bludgeoned like animals."

A strike of public transportation employees affected the northwestern city of Szczecin, while workers downed tools at a copper mine in the southwestern city of Lubin.

University unrest was also reported from Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow and Wroclaw, where hundreds of students boycotted lectures or occupied campuses.

Daily Says Steelworks Strike Must End

AU0605105988 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
2 May 88 p 4

[Commentary signed "S.K.": "Wishes"]

[Text] The principles and mechanisms of a radical reform present a real chance of healing and animating the economy. But they also bring certain dangers, mainly a pressure to increase wages. Such dangers have been foreseen, but at the same time one has realized that bowing to such pressure, in a situation where the economic results of an enterprise fail to justify price increases, would upset the reform mechanisms. It would therefore act against reform and the interests of society.

Of course, this principle does not apply to the earlier wage anomalies or disproportions in this sphere. The wage adjustments that are being made are meant to remove the disproportions that exist here and there. Neither does the principle of controlling prices mean blocking wage rises if such rises are economically and socially justified, in other words if productivity increases, the quality and modernity of products improve, and production costs are reduced. Correlating wage rises with economic results is one of the basic principles of the reform, a purpose that is set by the reform. Another principle is that all wage rises are financed by the resources produced by an enterprise and

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in relation to the enterprise's productivity. Efficient enterprises cannot finance inefficient ones, as has often been the case so far. This is against the principles of justice and economics.

If one has insufficient knowledge of all the facts, it is difficult to take a stance on the unlawful strike and dispute in the Nowa Huta combine, especially the wage demands by its workforce or a part of its workforce. However, it is not difficult to notice the very fact that a part of the steelworks' workforce has stopped work. Up to last Saturday, the losses amounted to over Z3 billion, as a result of which we will have Z3 billion less of the metal goods that are much needed by the building industry and other spheres of the national economy. In a situation like this, society's natural wish is for the Nowa Huta workers to resume work as quickly as possible, for we are all suffering tangibly.

However, not everyone is addressing this wish to the Nowa Huta workers. A group of Krakow intellectuals has issued a statement containing entirely different wishes. Let us quote the final part of this statement: "...Let us convey to the striking workers our expression of solidarity and our wish that their protest may serve to heal the situation in our country." Stopping work to heal the situation in the country? Heal what situation? Probably not the economic situation, which is not exactly blessed with surplus production. Without even accusing the authors of evil intentions, it is worth asking about the social logic that motivates them. Perhaps the logic boils down to this: The less we work, the healthier our situation. We have already tested this logic in practice, and we are all suffering the consequences now.

So let us address other wishes to the Lenin Steelworks: If real wage disproportions have really occurred there and if the enterprise does have enough of its own funds to eliminate them, then the dispute should be ended quickly. Society needs an operational steelworks, not one that is "healing the situation in the country" by stopping work. Only this kind of logic conforms to common sense and social interests. It is a pity that not all Polish intellectuals understand this.

No Talks With 'Illegal Structures'

LD0605085688 Warsaw PAP in English
0825 GMT 6 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 6—"Solidarity is a very beautiful word, ranking high in the workers' hierarchy of values. Once again, in a replay, this word is being put up for abuse by these very same people. Indeed, what kind of solidarity and with whom, is it, solely and without exception with those for whom all of us, our whole country, all of our national interests, are cheap chips in their anticommunist game. Solidarity with nobody else," writes today's TRYBUNA LUDU.

"They do not care about the size of wage increases, the standard of living, improvement of the economy, widening of democracy, the subjectivity of society and individual dignity nor even about union pluralism. This is a hasty forcible hustle to another attempt at undermining the political system. But this, in Poland, is not a subject for negotiations and talks.

"The authorities can and should be patient since political wranglers, once again, are hidden behind the workers' backs. But it cannot allow another, repeated ruin of the economy, built up with such difficulty, the destruction of Poland's tediously rebuilt position in the world, the derailment of the country from the road of reforms, the impulsive breaking of the law. This is why negotiations with illegal structures are totally out of the question," the paper concludes.

Orzechowski Views West's Attitude

LD0605095588 Warsaw PAP in English
0025 GMT 6 May 88

["Press Review"]

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Western Strike Exploitation Noted

AU0605110288 Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH
in Polish 4 May 88 p 2

[Commentary by M. Rudzinski: "Vultures"]

[Text] Once again Poland has found its way into the columns of the world press. For many years, it has been the iron rule to either write about Poland in bad terms or not write about it at all. That is the way it is this time as well.

Reading everything that has been written about Poland recently, I might have thought there was a civil war going on in Poland if I did not happen to live there. The only

subject is strikes, which are spreading like wildfire. AFP writes: "A great many enterprises joined the strikes on Friday." The WASHINGTON POST says: "The strikes in Poland are creating the prospects for a general uprising." In a climate like this, no wonder some commentaries do not shirk from "adding" details that match their general assumptions. AFP insists on quoting an estimate of number of Lenin Steelworks strikers that is not only 10 times higher than the official figure, but also 4 times higher than the figure given by the strike organizers! Of the several dozen reports that I have read, practically every single one blares out the fact that prices have gone up by 45 percent over the past 3 months. Only two reports say that the effects of the price increases were canceled out by a 45.9 percent wage rise during this period.

Apart from this, the authors display a remarkable consensus in their assessment of our situation. For years, any government decision was condemned as not being in accordance with the "spirit of the reform." They used to point out the need to stop subsidizing enterprises and make wage-price relations realistic. A prize to anyone who discovers among present reports one that discusses whether the strikers' demands conform to this "spirit."

Another favorite ploy by correspondents has been to point to the authorities' inability to develop the steel and shipping industries, which are suffering a crisis and recession all over the world. Not one of them has expressed surprise at the fact that protest movements have developed in the very plants that they suggested should be closed.

As we can see, the Polish reform can only be supported when it is used as a tool against the government, not when the opposition is against it.

Descriptions of the situation in Poland suggest that it is devoid of any future development prospects for the country, and at the same time provides an argument for the opponents of Soviet perestroika.

The Western mass media do not even bother to indicate any illusory hopes. Fanning the flames that have already been lit, they have shunned any objective analysis and are convincing their readers that the end is near. It is difficult for one to speak objectively about the situation of a sick man when one is playing the role of a vulture.

More Blanks Cleared in Polish-Soviet History

AU0205063188 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
6 Apr 88 pp 12, 13

[Włodzimierz Sokorski: "History Viewed Anew—Polish Communists in the USSR"]

[Text] As a result of Hitlerite Germany's aggression against Poland in 1939 and of the 17 September entry of the Soviet forces into Poland's Eastern territories, many

activists of the old Polish Communist Party [KPP] hailing from central Poland found themselves in the areas occupied by the Red Army. Their situation was not easy.

The Soviet authorities were distrustful not only of the entire Polish population, over 1.5 million members of which were deported as undesirable elements far into Siberia and Kazakhstan in 1940-41, but also of the Polish left wing. The activists of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] and the Bund were arrested and imprisoned in the depths of Russia. Most of them never returned from those prisons. The soldiers and officers of the old Polish Army were interned, and this was also the fate of their families, who were first deported from where they lived. The population of the former Eastern territories was obliged to accept Soviet passports, which Polish citizens often refused to do and for this reason had to suffer repressive measures. Former members of the KPP were treated with a large measure of suspicion, and many of them were persecuted. For example, Bohdan Zoladkowski, member of the last KPP Secretariat, disappeared without a trace despite interventions by Wasilewska. The arrests of Wladyslaw Broniewski, Aleksander Wat, Leopold Lewin, and Andrzej Stawar brought gloom to the literary community, and that is why people such as Stanislaw Dubois, Janek Nidzinski, Leon Wyrozembki, and many others escaped to the General Gouvernement [Nazi-occupied Poland].

The Soviet authorities somewhat changed their conduct only after establishing contact with Wanda Wasilewska and after her meeting with Stalin. It was at that time that Polish theaters in Lvov, Vilna, and Bialystok were reopened, some professors returned to universities, Polish schools and libraries were reinstated, and the Ossolineum Institute resumed the work connected with publishing Adam Mickiewicz's complete works. Contacts were also established with the activists of the old KPP via the Communist International (Nowotko, Lampe, Berman, Molokoc, and Finder) and via the local authorities. In 1941, still before the Soviet-German war, talks began within the Communist International about establishing an initiative group of the future Polish party and many activists of the former KPP, the West Ukrainian Communist Party [KPZU], and the West Belorussian Communist Party [KPZB] were reinstated as members.

Activists working either in CZERWONY SZTANDAR [RED BANNER] (Wiktor Grosz) or in the cultural institutions (Jerzy Borejsza, Wladyslaw Krasnowiecki) rallied around Wanda Wasilewska in Lvov. The activity of the Polish Communists in Vilna (Stefan Jedrychowaki, Jan Turlejaki, Jerzy Putrament), who became quite active within the new Lithuanian Republic, is another issue.

However, large numbers of the activists of the Polish left wing, including communists, were left by the wayside. They continued to wait for events to develop, convinced that Soviet-German conflict was inevitable and could

radically change the Soviet authorities' attitude toward Poles and the Polish left wing. However, despite this conviction, it was not so much the outbreak of hostilities as their initial course that took everyone by surprise. Evacuated in haste, we were unable to establish any lasting contact with one another. I met with Wanda Wasilewska twice during that wholesale withdrawal—in Kiev at the beginning of July and in Kharkov in mid-August. In Kiev both Wasilewska and Borejsza had nothing to say about the situation at that time. In Kharkov, where I worked in a tractor plant before the war and in the armored vehicle and train plant during the war, I was told that all Poles had been amnestied on the strength of the Sikorski-Stalin treaty, that in Buzuluk and Yang-Yul General Anders was organizing a Polish Army, and that the Polish Embassy began functioning in Kuibyshev.

The Polish left wing was supposed to rally in Saratov around NOWE WIDNOKREGI [NEW HORIZONS]. The interned Polish Communists went to join the Anders Army and those in contact with the Communist International tried to set up the initial cell of the future party, hoping to be transferred to occupied Poland. Some volunteered for the Soviet Army and fought in its defensive battles. I told Wanda Wasilewska in the presence of Korneychuk that I could not leave my plant without a special permission because the railroads and arms industry were militarized. Wasilewska promised to intervene with the Central Committee. I was evacuated with my Kharkov plant to Voronezh and then to Sarepta near Stalingrad.

Other changes in the situation of the Polish left wing were the Anders Army's departure to Iran and then to the Middle East and the Soviet victory at Stalingrad, which turned events to the advantage of the USSR. The activities of the Polish Communists went in two directions: The Communist International route in which an initiative group was transferred to Poland and the Polish Workers Party was formed from various antifascist organizations operating in the General Government; and the state direction under the auspices of the Soviet authorities in which the cadre base for the future Polish Army, the Polish Patriotic Union, and the Bureau of the Polish Communists was set up.

At that time Moscow resumed its full role as a capital, into which all central defense institutions returned and in which all planning for future actions was centered. At the turn of 1943 I was summoned to Moscow by Vasilii Puzin, head of the Propaganda Department of the Soviet party.

At that time Wanda Wasilewska, who was recalled from the Red Army, became the central figure of Polish emigres' activities. Her role and that of the Polish Patriotic Union continued to increase as the diplomatic relations between the Polish Government in London and the Soviet Government began to cool off because of the

tension on account of Poland's eastern borders and the discovery of the graves of Polish officers at Katyn, which was reported by General Sikorski to the International Red Cross.

At the turn of 1943 the Soviet Government agreed to the establishment of the Polish Patriotic Union and the weekly *WOLNA POLSKA*, which was to appear side by side with *NOWE WIDNOKREGLI*. The first issue of *WOLNA POLSKA*, which carried Wanda Wasilewska's editorial, appeared on 1 March 1943, which was also the official date of the establishment of the Polish Patriotic Union and its local branches. Preparations also continued to organize a Polish infantry division as proposed by Wasilewska and Berling. Former KPP activists also proposed that Polish regiments should be set up within Soviet divisions. Despite various counter activities, the Soviet Government agreed to establish an independent infantry division strengthened by an armored brigade, a heavy artillery regiment, and an air force regiment.

The suspension of diplomatic relations between General Sikorski's emigre government and the USSR at the end of April 1943 and the dissolution of the Communist International helped accelerate independent activities of the Polish Patriotic Union and the Polish left wing. It was then that a Kremlin session was held to discuss the Polish issue. On the Soviet side it was attended by Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Shcherbakov, and Zhukov and on the Polish side by Wasilewska, Berling, Lampe, Berman, and Sikorski (who was to deputize for Berling as a political officer). At the same time, the decision was made to convene a congress of the Polish Patriotic Union on 9 and 10 June in order to adopt a political platform and to elect the Main Administration.

On 4 May, as the premier of the government, Stalin told U.S. correspondent Ralph Parker about the Soviet Government's views on Poland's independence and sovereignty and on its army as an allied fighting force in the USSR, a force logistically linked to the Soviet Army, but politically run by the Polish Patriotic Union. The Soviet Government issued a decree on that army. On 9 May an operational group commanded by Zygmunt Berling went to the Seltse camp near Ryazan. Before the congress of the Polish Patriotic Union took place, Alfred Lampe had published an article entitled "Poland's Place in Europe," in which he proposed that the Odra should be Poland's Western border. The article was published with the Soviet authorities' agreement, and became their official position on Poland's future borders.

The political platform of the Polish Patriotic Union adopted at the congress was democratic-patriotic and not socialist, and this was how it differed from the PPR's platform contained in the declaration "What We Are Fighting For." Referring to the left-wing and revolutionary traditions of struggles for independence, it [the platform of the Polish Patriotic Union] called for the establishment of "the Poland of social justice" and the

carrying out of the agrarian reform and the nationalization of large industries and banks, but leaving small industries, trade, and handicrafts in private hands.

Pluralistic democracy and religious freedom were to be the guiding motives of a reborn Poland, of democratic-bourgeois Poland. The Polish Patriotic Union was to unite all Poles professing the struggle for independence and the Polish-Science alliance, regardless of religious views and party affiliation. The congress programmatic principles became directives for the organizing Polish Army. The white eagle was to continue as the national emblem, the Dabrowski national anthem was to stay, but the division's anthem was to be Maria Konopnicka's "Rota."

These broad ideological principles made it easier to carry out a general mobilization of the Polish population around the Polish Patriotic Union and around the national liberation struggle and left open the issue of Poland's future political system and the role of not only future socialist parties, but also the armed forces established in the USSR and thereby our attitude toward the real political-organizational setups in the occupied country. By necessity, these issues had to be discussed by the union's central activists and by the armed forces, which represented a miniature Polish society because of their volunteer character. Discussions and exchanges of views continued to proceed independently of similar processes in the occupied country.

Contacts with the Polish Workers Party were sporadic and, after the dissolution of the Communist International, were maintained mainly via the Belorussian partisan staff, in which Leon Kasman represented the Polish Patriotic Union. Because of different views, even the old KPP activists in the Polish division formulated Theses 1 and Theses 2 on the initiative of the political apparatus. The former theses were written by Major Jakub Prawin, head of the Political Administration, and I helped him in this to a great extent. In the theses we referred to the revolutionary traditions of the Polish national liberation movement, the workers class movement, and the political struggle under German occupation. Taking into account the political forces of reaction and the impact of anti-Soviet moods, we assumed that the liberation role of the Red Army and the Polish Army would help to set up in Poland an "organized form of people's democracy. This formulation was like a cat let loose among pigeons. Roman Zambrowski and Hilary Minc wrote Theses 2, which professed parliamentary democracy, pluralism, and a free play of the forces in the country itself.

Both sets of theses were criticized by Alfred Lampe and Wanda Wasilewska. The first theses lacked democratism and the second displayed political indifference. Lampe proposed that a Polish Communists' Bureau should be set up in the USSR as an inspirer and manager of political work in the army. At the same time, the proposition was made to establish a Polish National

Committee like the then existing French National Committee. Aleksander Zawadzki was to head the communist bureau and to take over from me my function in the army. I was to become head of propaganda in the Polish National Committee.

Not only the theses written in the army, but also Lape's proposals produced controversial discussions supported by the political activists of the army and the Polish Patriotic Union. At the political session of the corps after the Lenino battle I developed Prawin's theses as the platform "What We Are Fighting For," professing revolutionary-democratic reforms realized in the country in the struggle against reaction and based on the radical, and socialist liberation movement in Poland, on the Polish Army, and on the home partisan movement. Aleksander Zawadzki supported my recommendations and ordered them to be published by the corps' organ "We Will Be Victorious." Despite what A. Przygonski has recently written, the ideological principles of the platform "What We Are Fighting For" were not formulated as principles to counter the PPR platform, because we had no knowledge of that platform. Besides our principles were much closer to the PPR's position than the platform of the Polish Patriotic Union.

I held many talks on this subject with Alfred Lampe, with whom I thought I could find a common language after initial controversies. However, basic differences of views on the Communists' Bureau still existed. Not only I, but Wanda Wasilewska, as well, had many reservations about the need to establish such a bureau in view of the existence in occupied Poland of the Polish Workers Party and its Central Committee as a party of the new type. We were also against establishing the Polish National Committee before entering Poland and without agreement with domestic organizations. Lampe's sudden death interrupted these talks. At that time, the Soviet authorities expressed their support for establishing the Communists' Bureau, taking into account the nebulous situation in Poland and the Polish Workers Party, especially after Marcel Nowotko's death, Pawel Finder's arrest, and the discovery of the party radio transmitter. This meant that direct contacts had to be interrupted for a time.

In January 1944, a letter arrived in Moscow from the Polish Workers Party Central Committee. It was signed by Wladyslaw Gomulka and Boleslaw Bierut, as the chairman of the People's Council in Poland. The letter clarified the situation in that it announced that the work to organize the Polish National Committee was stopped and that it was decided to send out a plenipotentiary delegation from the Polish Workers Party and the People's Council in Poland with the help of the Soviet authorities. This did not change the situation, and the controversies and disputes in the Communists' Bureau and in the Administration of the Polish Patriotic Union continued to persist. The subjects of tensions were the

attitude toward the country, the Polish Workers Party, and the nature of the army and its role in the future situation after the Bug has been crossed.

The Communists' Bureau removed me from the army and from the Polish Patriotic Union Presidium in February 1944 for alleged rightist-nationalistic deviations. Although the charge that I wanted to organize an anti-communist conspiracy in the army was dropped, because, as Berman said, no concrete evidence was available to prove this charge, my activities were appraised as objectively harmful. Only Berling objected to this decision, and Aleksander Zawadzki abstained. At the same time, Wanda Wasilewska was sent on leave for 6 months to vacate the chairmanship of the Polish Patriotic Union Main Administration. It has to be said that Stalin dissociated himself from these decisions, returned my party card to me, and posted me to work in the political apparatus of the railroad service on the Southern front. I returned to Poland only in 1945 with the agreement of the Soviet authorities, after I had written to Wladyslaw Gomulka.

Two important events took place in March 1944. The First Polish Army was organized and the Second Polish Army was to be organized in Sumy under Karol Swierczewski's command. Aleksander Zawadzki, was working for the troops and rarely visited Moscow, but had time to sign an invitation addressed by the Communists' Bureau to the PPR Central Committee and the Presidium of the People's Council in Poland to send a delegation to Moscow for talks. This delegation, led by Michal Rola-Zymierski, Marian Spychalski, and Edward Osobka-Morawski, crossed the frontline in March and was able to meet with all the other sides in the presence of Stalin in June.

Previous talks made it possible to make such decisions as the dissolution of the Polish Communists' Bureau and to subordinate the Polish Patriotic Union to the authorities of the People's Council in Poland and the command of the two Polish armies to General Rola-Zymierski. At the same time, the plank of the Polish National Liberation Committee was defined. The committee's manifesto was to be proclaimed in the first Polish town beyond the Bug. This was done in Chelm, although the committee began operating in Lublin. In this way the plank devised by Wladyslaw Gomulka and Boleslaw Bierut was adopted, but a few members of the old Communists' Bureau joined the Polish Workers Party Politburo Wanda Wasilewska became deputy chairman of the Polish National Liberation Committee headed by Osobka-Morawski. All the same, having stayed in Lublin for a short time, Wasilewska went to Kiev and never returned to Poland.

I think that, despite those personal dramas, disputes, and political controversies, the achievements of the Polish Patriotic Union were positive, which cannot be said about the Communists' Bureau. Relying on the union's organizational network, we were able to rally people and to create a political base for two Polish armies, whose

combat trailed from Lenino to Berlin and Bautzen. In addition, we trained the cadres who, side by side with the domestic activists, played an important role in creating the foundations of People's Poland as a state.

I think that we can also assert today that the political testament drawn up by Wanda Wasilewska, Alfred Lampe, and Zygmunt Berling was much more far-reaching than the political conditions at that time allowed it to be. However, our expectations that we would be able to create a new form of socialist democracy under the conditions of people's democracy did not materialize and were frustrated to a great extent by the errors of the initial period, during which the political capital of the Warsaw Uprising and the Home Army was wasted, and by later errors committed under the conditions of the Communist International and the repressions of the fifties. All this vitiated the realization of our goals listed by the Polish National Liberation Committee's manifesto. During the later crises we stumbled over these goals by being inconsistent in realizing the Polish road to socialism. Today we must also mention the links of some of our activists with the Beria apparatus, which with its agents, outmaneuvered the main organizers of the Polish Patriotic Union and the Polish Army and later

on continued to finish off the domestic cadres and those Polish officers of the wartime Home Army who honestly joined People's Poland and its new army. This was later on largely the reason why divisions kept occurring within the Polish workers movement up to the drama of the fifties and to some extent even during the sixties.

Perhaps today we are still unable to answer all questions, but we must look for the sources of many errors and personal tragedies not only in objective causes, but also in the fact that we were not sovereign when making decisions and that we made zig-zag attempts to realize our own road to socialism. This does not excuse either us or our protectors, but it allows us to better understand the history of the workers movement, whose concepts, it is true, continued to pass the test of the verdicts of history, but, subjected to the mechanisms of the Stalinist straitjacket, did not pass the test of difficult and complicated practice. If under such conditions we were able to save the dignity of our epoch and of socialism, the proof thereof is that we are not facing a crisis of Marxism, but a crisis of the methods of its realization—methods that are often in conflict with the historic tasks we have posed for ourselves.

Ceausescu Discusses Most-Favored-Nation Status
AU0505132888 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 May 88

[Announcer-read report on speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at meeting with U.S. businessmen in Bucharest on 4 May]

[Text] I would like to express again my satisfaction with this new meeting with an important group of U.S. businessmen. I fully share the concern some of you have shown about the prospects of developing economic and trade relations between Romanian enterprises and U.S. companies and enterprises, and between Romania and the United States.

The economic relations between Romania and the United States have passed through several stages. Until 1975 these relations developed without the most-favored-nation status and, as some of you have mentioned, they made important progress during that period.

Together with two of the U.S. Presidents of those times, we came to the conclusion that it would be good to base our relations on a long-term trade agreement. As you very well know, the relevant agreement was signed in 1975. The principles included in that agreement are still valid today. This agreement also includes the mutual granting of most-favored-nation status, but it also clearly includes the fact that the relations between the two countries must be based on complete equality, on respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

After signing that agreement in the U.S. Congress, an amendment was added which, as a matter of fact, limits and contradicts the agreement. Romania, its democratic bodies, and the Grand National Assembly endorsed that agreement without any modifications. At that time we even thought about whether to accept the enforcement of the agreement with the amendment approved by the U.S. Congress. Since it was said that the amendment referred to a problem that Romania had long solved, we came to the conclusion that we would set our relations on the basis of this agreement. Therefore we did not pay much attention to the amendment and for some time there were no particular problems.

In the past few years, our discussions with representatives of the U.S. Administration have not been concerned with promoting trade but with quite different demands that meant an inadmissible interference in Romania's internal affairs. Nevertheless, I must say that for a long time the governments of our countries cooperated with favorable results in many important international issues. Many of you are aware of the fact that every spring over the past few years we have had problems, and we discussed this issue of continuing the most-favored-nation status. We repeatedly stated that unless the tendency toward interference in foreign affairs is given up, we will forgo this status. You, as businessmen, are well aware of the fact that there are many

problems in the world economy, particularly for the developing countries, but also for developed countries, including Romania and the United States. That is why all the governments of all countries, including the governments of Romania and of the United States, should be concerned with ways of contributing to seeking solutions to these problems and with promoting trade and mutually advantageous economic exchanges.

We asked the U.S. Administration to work with us in the spirit of the 1975 agreement and completely give up the practice of raising other problems that are not the subject of this agreement and are not connected with the promotion of economic and trade relations. There are some ill-willed people in the U.S. Congress itself, people who made many untrue, insulting statements about the Romanian people. That is why, during our talks, I raised the issue of reaching an appropriate agreement that permits us to mutually maintain most-favored-nation status, without any conditions. But the U.S. Administration stated that it did not consider the maintenance of most-favored-nation status possible under these conditions. It had not reached a decision on whether or not to recommend the maintenance of this status, and it could make this recommendation only on the condition of Romania accepting some demands of another nature, which, I repeat, would mean an inadmissible interference in Romania's internal affairs that we cannot accept. Romania is neither a big nor a small country. But even if Romania were a very small country, it still would not accept any interference in our domestic affairs.

The Romanian people have their long-standing traditions of independence and in the years of socialist construction they consolidated and firmly promoted a policy of independence. Nothing in the world will make us give up this policy, and those political figures who believe that various types of pressure could help solve some problems according to their wishes are utterly mistaken. As regards Romania, it has never and will never give in to any pressure. We wish to have relations with all the states of the world based on the principles I have spoken about: equality, respect, and mutual advantage. We would like to further develop relations with the United States in all fields. We particularly wish to continue and develop economic relations. We wish to develop the existing joint ventures and find new forms for cooperation and collaboration in the interest of enterprises in our country and the Romanian economy, as well as in the interest of American and U.S. enterprises, companies, and businessmen.

We proposed and we are ready to examine together with representatives of the United States ways to overcome the situation that has been created. We believe that we should find the way to mutually maintain the most-favored-nation status. As a matter of fact, we have agreed to maintain the 1975 trade agreement and suspend only the article and amendment referring to the status. This agreement has not been signed yet. Accordingly, it could be turned into an agreement that maintains the most-favored-nation status in both directions.

while excluding the provision of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

As regards relations between Romania and the United States in general, we have other forums and other frameworks in which we can discuss them. We are ready to discuss any problem concerning the relations between our countries and international issues, and we will try to reach ever closer and, if possible, common conclusions. The long experience of Romanian-American relations has shown that this is the only way that is in keeping with the interests of both peoples and contributes to the development of friendship, general cooperation, and economic relations between the two countries.

We share—I repeat—your concern and your preoccupation. However I believe that we do not have to dramatize things but should examine jointly how we should work together in the period while the most-favored-nation status is suspended in order to optimally develop our economic relations.

I would like to think that this will be a temporary problem that will not last too long, although there is still time until 1 July—practically almost 2 months—to work out appropriate agreements making bilateral suspension of the most-favored-nation clause no longer necessary. Nevertheless, we are prepared for either case—so to speak. Our authorities, ministries, central departments, and enterprises, which have wide-ranging of rights, have received clear guidance in this respect, and they wish to work for a broad development of relations.

Then President Nicolae Ceausescu said: The problems arising now concern the quality and technical level of products of both sides and the strict observance of contracts. We have a good contract with General Electric, and we want to further develop it. Certainly we have relations with Boeing, and we want to expand them. We have a joint venture with Control Data, which is unfortunately stagnating and not because of the Romanian firms. We would like to extend this venture and make it produce more advanced electronics for the benefit of both Control Data and the Romanian enterprises. We are ready to set up such joint ventures also in other areas but with better results. We have good relations in the fields of textiles and foodstuffs and in other areas, but I do not want to dwell on them now. I would only like to mention the issue raised by some of the representatives of the automobile companies who have taken the floor, and I think that we must make sure that the terms of the contracts are fulfilled in the best way, and we manufacture high-tech products that meet the requirements of the American and other markets. As a matter of fact, I would like to say that this is one of the major concerns of our country's activity.

In the present situation I think, and I agree with you—said President Nicolae Ceausescu—that we must work together, or that the Romanian enterprises and the American enterprises and companies and businessmen should work together to make the two governments take into consideration the interests of developing economic cooperation.

If economic relations develop further in the upcoming period and even expand, I think this would be the best way to convince everybody of the need to remove all barriers from the path of genuinely equitable and mutually advantageous trade.

In conclusion, President Nicolae Ceausescu said: I assure you that the Romanian Government and I, myself, will fully support and do our utmost to ensure the development of our economic relations and to see to it that relations between Romania and the United States develop in all areas. We believe that this is in keeping with the interests of our peoples and of the general policy of peace and international cooperation.

Let us look confidently to the future, also the future of economic relations and general relations between our countries.

I hope there will be favorable cooperation between American businessmen and Romanian enterprises, and I wish you success in your activity—said President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comparison of Joint Romanian-CSSR Communiqué

AU0251327 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 28 April carries on page 3 the 2,000-word "Joint Communiqué" on the friendly working visit paid by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Romania on 27 April 1988. The SCINTEIA report has been compared with the Prague RUDE PRAVO Czech version published in the 3 May East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 38-40, revealing that paragraph six is published before paragraph five, the names of the two party leaders are preceded by the word "comrade" throughout the communiqué, the sequence of listing the names of the two leaders, parties, and countries is inverted, and the following variations:

Page 39, column one, third full paragraph on page, only sentence reads in SCINTEIA: wide-ranging application of modern scientific-technical progress... (adding word "modern")

Page 39, column two, fourth full paragraph, only sentence reads in SCINTEIA: robotics, power engineering. [new paragraph]

The two representative ... (deleting "and so forth")

Page 40, column one, first full paragraph, last sentence reads in SCINTEIA: fields would constitute an essential measure in the field ... (adding words "an essential," deleting "of principle")

Page 40, column one, paragraph three, second sentence reads in SCINTEIA: In this context, the sides stressed the particular importance of initiatives aimed at turning the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation, free from foreign military bases and troops, of convening a meeting of chiefs of states and governments of the countries in this area, and the importance of initiatives aimed at creating an area without nuclear and chemical

weapons in central Europe, a zone of trust, cooperation, and of good-neighborly relations on the basis of contacts between the two military blocs. (rephrasing)

Romanian-Soviet Commission Session Concludes
AU0505150888 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1445 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/5/1988—On 5 May, the 18th session of the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental-

Commission on Economic, Technological and Scientific Collaboration ended proceedings, in Bucharest.

On the occasion, the chairmen for the two sides in the commission, Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, and A.K. Antonov, vice-president of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, signed the protocol of the session.

While in Romania, the Soviet delegation had interviews with members of the managements of some ministries, and visited economic, social and cultural units in the capital city

29-31 May Set as Date for LCY Conference
*LD0505132088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 5 May 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—The LCY Conference will take place on 29-31 May in the Sava Center in Belgrade. A decision to this effect was made today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The conference will work in plenary sessions and groups which, however, will not be divided according to sectors. The Presidium decided on this type of work to enable as many delegates as possible to take part in discussions over the 3 days.

All conference delegates have already been selected. There will be 585 delegates but the total number of participants will be 786 as members of LCY organs have the same rights and duties as delegates at the conference.

Slovene LC Presidium Assesses LC Conferences
*AU0505193788 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 May 88*

[Text] The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium today assessed with great satisfaction that the April conference of the republic's LC had been successful. This point of view was based on the reactions to the conference from the Slovene public and the analysis of reports published by the media in other republics. Milan Kucan said that this positive atmosphere and attitude of Slovene Communists should be affirmed at the forthcoming LCY conference. An agreement on how and in what way would be reached at the forthcoming session of the Slovene LC Central Committee and in talks with Slovene delegates. Here are more details from Relja Atanasijevic in Ljubljana:

In his introductory speech at today's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, Milos Prosenec outlined in detail the tasks of the republican party leadership and membership in the realization of the conference's stances and directions until the next congress. The most important aims are a way out of the crisis, social and economic development, and the renovation and democratization of the LC.

Although the session was dominated by assessments of the great success of the Slovene LC conference, Milan Kucan believed that it was necessary to draw attention to what he expressed as the undertones of the reactions. The question was asked whether Slovene Communists would succeed in affirming their stances at the LCY Conference. He said that in order to manage this preparations would be completed at the next meeting of the republican Central Committee, which will probably be held on 20 May. Until then Slovene viewpoints will be compared with the stances of Communists from other regions of Yugoslavia and with the federal theses. It is important to look in the direction of positive goals and not in the reverse direction.

Sonja Lokar added that it was necessary to look for an alliance with other Yugoslav communities that have similar views on key issues and that it was essential that Slovene Communists behave correctly.

Silva Jereb joined in with the statement that it was not necessary for Slovene delegates to say everything because there are others elsewhere who think the same. She said that a working affirmation of Slovene viewpoints should be directed within both the LC and the system.

Andrej Marinc pointed to the harmony that was shown at the Slovene LC conference with the comment that it could increase its responsibility if some of the goals were not realized, especially if there were no material base for their realization. He warned that it would not be useful to put too much stress on comparisons of the Slovene stances with the views and theses of republican and federal conferences of Communists. We must be aware of the atmosphere in the whole of Yugoslavia.

France Popit added to this opinion. He stressed that Slovene opinions were important for the whole of our country. He had in mind accumulation, the foreign exchange law, economic policy, and constitutional changes. Popit put forward the view that the LCY Conference would hold us back more than it would push us forward because of the relationship of forces within the state. The basic problem is that while Slovenia was interested in development, most of Yugoslavia was occupied with the question of how to survive, Popit pointed out.

Commentary on Slovene Conference
*AU0505194988 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
30 Apr 88 p 2*

[From "From the Yugoslav Press" column: "Are Slovene Communists Blind to Disturbances in Their Own Community?"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—In its third news-reel last night, Belgrade Television carried a commentary by Krste Bijelic on the Conference of the LC of Slovenia. The commentator stressed that "misunderstandings reach their peak when some—to put it mildly—nebulous, incomplete, unexplained, but certainly unacceptable ideas and questions become a part of party documents. And this has happened in Slovenia."

According to Bijelic, the public media in Slovenia welcomed the conclusion of the Slovene Communist conference in a, so to say, triumphant, relieved way. This feeling was sublimated in DELO by Mile Setinc, well-known fighter for a civilian society, who enthusiastically wrote that the main outlines of the so-called Kucan policy received enthusiastic support even before the gathering of the Slovene Communists, but especially at the conference. It is simply a matter of incredible unity

of Communists and others, too, or rather it is a matter of a general consensus, as Comrade Setinc would say, because he avoids the term "unity."

"Even a superficial analysis would show," Bijelic said, "that many of our Slovene colleagues made an effort—in contrast to other journalists—to carefully single out and stress those speeches in the discussion that 'had the odor' of preaching to 'the south'; to put special emphasis on some proposals which, it is already clear, will lead us to new disagreements and suspicions; and to 'forget,' if at all possible, those speakers in the discussion whose eyes were turned toward Yugoslavia, too. This is a pity, because it devalued the chief slogan of the conference: Socialism to the Measure of Man. Clad primarily in the Slovene national costume, this slogan necessarily lost a part of its general human or at least general Yugoslav value and challenge."

And this contains the core of the disagreements and the caution connected with the so-called Slovene initiatives. These initiatives necessarily lose their shine if we set them in a wider framework of the events there, where "excursions" by nationalists and other extremists are becoming more and more frequent, Bijelic stressed.

"Did the Slovene Communists act wisely when at their conference they actually kept silent about the numerous disturbances in their own community, or did they, in fact, silently support their perpetrators?" the commentator asked. "One could read about this dilemma in—you have guessed it—the 'southern' press. Obviously no such dilemma exists for Slovene writers and sociologists. Only 2 days before the conference they proposed theses for the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. These theses contain no Yugoslavia and no socialism, but they speak about an independent republic of Slovenia with all the attributes of a 'proper' state, ranging from the Army to foreign policy. And the system? Pluralism of a multi-party type within the framework of a bourgeois civilian society, of course; and a view from the Alpine heights of the somewhat remote Balkans drowning in a sea of difficulties, as the conferences in Sarajevo and Skopje demonstrated."

"In this connection one would ask the question: Is all this merely a part of the folklore of the so-called Slovene spring?" Krste Bijelic asked in the conclusion of his commentary on Belgrade Television.

Slovene Daily Defends Popit's Statement
AU0505110488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
30 Apr 88 p 2

[Branko Podobnik commentary: "Coarse Words"]

[Text] We do not remember the LCY Central Committee Presidium ever being so specific in denouncing a statement as it was at its latest session when it rebuked France Popit, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia. This is because in his recent statement "he harmed the

efforts to strengthen confidence in the federal organs," his statement "was not in accordance with a democratic dialogue in a delegate system," and "it did not contribute to overall efforts toward a speedier way out of the crisis...."

We recall that recently, at the time of the most vehement denunciations of the events in Slovenia because of some press articles on the Yugoslav People's Army (which in parts were completely unacceptable) and the time of "scolding" our republic for the counterrevolution developing there, France Popit stated that some regulations that shape our economic policy could be considered a counterrevolution.

If we attempt to analyze this statement by taking into account the continuity of the revolution, we cannot reject Popit's opinion without any further thought. It is a fact that it has been primarily our economic policy, distinguished by its statist properties and specific moves, that has reduced the scope of self-management, which (rightly) is counted among the main achievements and continuity of our socialist revolution. And because the essence of self-management surely lies in the realization of the slogan that he who creates something should decide on the conditions and results of his work—while fewer and fewer things remain for the self-managers to decide—we may assert that one of the most important achievements of our revolution is slipping out of the workers' hands. This means a break in the thread of self-management or depriving working people of their rights.

France Popit can of course defend himself, but attention should be drawn to the criticism expressed by the LCY Central Committee Presidium because of an obvious inconsistency. Words like "class," "rights of the direct producers," "our workers class," and so forth can often be heard in this organ. However, when somebody—even though rather coarsely—draws attention to the fact that what is being done in the name of this workers class is closer to counterrevolution than to the strengthening of self-management and the implementation of workers' constitutional rights, he is harshly condemned.

We think that France Popit did not make a politically wise statement, for it is becoming obvious that he was not properly understood in some places. It is another question whether or not he was misunderstood intentionally or genuinely. For many years, France Popit occupied offices that made possible, or directly required, actions by him that were directly connected with sorting out the relations in our society. "He was there all the time," somebody may say with justification. This is true. To be more precise, we must remember his frequent critical warnings in which one could always notice a criticism of the practice depriving those who create of their right to decide on the results.

It is one-sided, and it is also the easiest thing to do to direct critical shafts at the federal organs only. Instead of criticizing them, we should take care that they are joined by people with more knowledge and ability than those employed in them now. In addition, it is not merely the federal state that is curtailing the rights of self-managers. The communes, republics, and provinces in their states also have people to whom statism is more close than self-management.

Dolanc Assesses Causes of Economic Crisis
AU0505114588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Apr-3 May 88 p 1

[S. Festic Report: "A Crisis With Several Causes"]

[Text] Maribor, 29 Apr—Our crisis is the result of prolonged lagging behind, large debts, and the irrational use of foreign loans, lags in adjusting the economy, slow technological development, changes in the efficiency of our entire economy, and, of course, excessive desires to distribute what we have not earned. Therefore, the crisis is today most sharply reflected in production that is too low, inflation that is rising, investments that are falling, a standard of living that is falling, and, what particularly hurts Yugoslavia and young people, the high level of unemployment.

This was stated among other things by Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, who spoke in Hoce near Maribor at the opening of a new modern plant in the Hidromontaza work organization, which celebrated its 40th anniversary of successful work.

Speaking about an increase in exports last year and at the beginning of this year, particularly to the hard currency markets, Dolanc stressed that in the first 3 months this year we recorded a \$426 million surplus in relation to last year when we had a \$587 million deficit. The money sent by Yugoslavs temporarily working abroad is also on the increase, which indicates their greater confidence in our economy. We have also begun reducing the total expenditure in the country and have reduced unemployment by 0.6 percent, which at first glance is not much, but it is promising.

Speaking about the efforts of all Yugoslavs to improve things, to gradually improve and stabilize the current economic situation, Dolanc said that we must ensure an urgent overhaul of the driving force of our development. And he did not think of Slovenia only. Dolanc pointed out that in Montenegro, for instance, exceptionally complex but very positive measures are being undertaken to increase productivity. Having realized their past mistakes, the people in Macedonia are trying to find their own way and plan a much faster development. In Kosovo, those able to offer something better are approached more often than before.

In searching for a way out of the crisis, we are encountering a number of political dilemmas. Dolanc said that in the present stage of democracy in Yugoslavia, and, of course, in Slovenia too, there have been numerous events and actions by certain groups and individuals who, objectively speaking, act in an anticommunist and antisocialist way. For socialist countries, including ours, which is still economically underdeveloped, the most diverse conflicts are significant. We must be primarily aware that multinationalism, considerable economic differences, and different degrees of economic development are our reality. It is therefore understandable why every economic problem quickly receives a political dimension and leads to tensions in intranational relations.

Many people see the idea of communism as the main cause of accumulated problems, and communists as the main culprits. We must bear this in mind. But, it is not good to treat all criticisms addressed at the LC, leaderships, and the way our system functions, as a counter-revolution. Above all, it would not be fair to stick in advance a counterrevolution label on demands for new things, particularly on the demands of young people who do not have any complexes and who are not burdened by prejudices. They are primarily asking for a position in society. We must not criticize young people who are calling for changes, better things, and who demand action.

Vujkov Favors Agricultural Price Liberalization
AU0505181488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
4 May 88 p 1

[Report on interview with Sava Vujkov, president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, by B. Gulanc: "Market—Test for Endurance"; date and place not given]

[Text] What awaits Yugoslav agriculture after 15 May, after the prices have been unfrozen?—we asked Sava Vujkov, member of the FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture. According to him, agriculture is steadily preparing itself for the measures expected to follow the price thaw, and we will have to survive what is coming.

"We are entering a period of market prices and therefore the existing support prices are losing their meaning. This was the reason for an obvious shortfall in contracts for sugar beet and sunflower (the plan was to sow sugar beet on 160,000 hectares, and sunflower on 232,000 hectares, but it is difficult to believe that this will be achieved). But, neither are existing support prices the guarantee that the producer will not find himself in a difficult position, because other prices will be set according to demand and supply in the market. Support prices should always be understood as a guaranteed minimum. To be more precise, about 40 percent of prices will be freely set. Out of these, 10 percent will be set freely within the first 30 days. However, it would be wrong to expect that after 15 May the accumulated problems will be solved

through a price increase and price liberalization. The liberalization of prices assumes, first of all, healthy competition, and then a fall in prices.

"For years we have been insisting on ties based on income, and now is an opportune moment to do it, now is the time to do it. I would like to point out in particular that the measures that will be introduced should not be seen only as price liberalization, because that would also mean the liberalization of the crisis. We must learn not to spend more than we produce, and we must carry out a policy of real interest and exchange rates. Despite unfavorable years and times for food production, our market is well-supplied, supply exceeds demand, even of wheat (there are demands for the export of 250,000 tonnes of wheat). The same applies to livestock, wine, meat products, fruit, and vegetables, and a similar thing could happen to corn."

Vujkov pointed out in particular that agriculture is ready and able to join new processes, just like the rest of the economy, but that it is sensitive to high inflation, and that therefore the first blow will in fact be felt in this branch of the economy. But, seen in the long run, Vujkov added, agriculture's real chance lies in market laws. This means that, given proper support, agriculture could join in all these processes.

"We know that supply exceeds demand, and we could therefore export the surplus. But we are not equipped to export. For instance, we can export 1.7 million tonnes of corn a year, but all our ports are designed for unloading imports, not loading exports," Vujkov said.

"The export of foodstuffs has been stagnating at \$1.1 billion. This is only the consequence of talking more about exports rather than doing anything about them. The lack of unity in our market is a greater problem than exports themselves. But the promising thing is that in the first 3 months of this year exports to hard-currency markets increased by 36 percent in relation to the same period last year. If we continue like this, we should export foodstuffs worth \$1.3 billion, of which \$400 million would be meat and meat-product exports," Vujkov pointed out.

Open Letters Protest Jozse Smole's Remarks
AU0505182388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
30 Apr-3 May 88 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Slovenia Does Not Give Ultimatums"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 29 Apr—Events in Slovenia and articles in MLADINA, KATEDRA, TRIBUNA, and other newspapers have provoked many protests in Vojvodina, and a large number of people sent open letters to Novi Sad DNEVNIK for Jozse Smole, president of the SAWP of Slovenia.

The Slovenes, whom Smole supports so fervently, are not the only working people in the SFRY. He should perhaps be reminded that those were Yugoslav funds with which one constructed Velenje, Trbovlje, and many other things they are so proud of today. And it is no secret that capital from Slovenia has flooded the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Vladimir Vlas-kalic from Novi Sad says, among other things, in an open letter he sent to the DNEVNIK editorial board.

Democracy or Anarchy? [subhead]

Vlaskalic also says that the concern for the Slovene language is absurd because all Ljubljana Bank checks in all parts of Yugoslavia, including Novi Sad, are written in Slovene.

Indignant about articles in MLADINA, Djordje Radi-savljevic, a miller from Velika Remeta on Fruska Gora Mount, asks the following: Can such destructive ideas be ascribed to democracy? Do they not belong to anarchy? He says that there were 19 veterans in the Radosavljevic family alone. Eight of them were killed in the national liberation war and two of those in battles for the libera-tion of Slovenia.

Readers' open letters and an outstanding interest for Jozse Smole's public speeches and his views have made Novi Sad DNEVNIK ask the president of the SAWP of Slovenia for an interview, which it carries in its issue today.

We are not giving any ultimatums, but I also do not deny having said that it would be a sort of a dictation if all proposed amendments—regardless of whether they enjoy support during the public debate or not—were put in one package and if one insisted that the entire package should be adopted, Smole said, in reply to DNEVNIK's question. He added that there are four amendments that Slovenia considers unacceptable and that it would not be good if we made the Slovene Assembly or some other republic vote against the entire package because of some unacceptable amendments. That would be most unfor-tunate for Yugoslavia, because it would mean having invested months of work on preparing amendments without achieving any positive end results, Smole pointed out.

He added that "amendments that we in Slovenia do not agree with have nothing to do with the effort to solve the economic crisis. We suggest that those amendments, as well as possible others on which other republics may have critical remarks, be excluded from the further debate."

Key Problem [subhead]

Explaining some of the statements he made in the past, Jozse Smole says the following: "That which is happening in Slovenia is by no means specifically Slovene. Some

points of societal democratization may be more pronounced and stressed there, but I am convinced that democratic development in Slovenia is something that all parts of Yugoslavia strive for. It is therefore even more important not to treat individual cases of excessive behavior as decisive and the most important, because placing too much stress on such cases, which are of marginal significance for our society, makes us depart from solving key problems in society. The key problem is certainly finding the way out of the economic crisis. We in Yugoslavia very often exhaust ourselves in explaining marginal problems to each other," Jozse Smole says.

Speaking about the articles in a section of the Slovene press dealing with the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], Smole pointed out the following: "A long time ago, when nobody got excited about such articles, we in Slovenia carried out logical debates with the authors of articles that were negativist toward the YPA or were insulting. Therefore, we reacted before the others did and I think that our assessment was quite to the point.

"However, we did not accept a generalization of the issue that creates the impression in Yugoslavia that there is something unclear in Slovenia about the YPA.

"We think that relations with the YPA are very good, that our defense preparations are at a very high level, and that the entire concept of the all-people's defense and social self-protection in Slovenia rests on very good foundations.

"Of course, there are groups in Slovenia that are constantly accusing us of insufficiently defending the authentic interests of the Slovene people, of giving in to the federation, for instance, and of being unprincipled and inconsistent. We do not accept that, of course," Jozse Smole said, among other things, in the interview with Novi Sad DNEVNIK.

Bosnian Youth Body Explains Views on Andric
AU0505181388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
29 Apr 88 p 4

[E. Demirovic report: "There Is No Democracy Without Publicity"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 28 Apr—As is known, the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference of Bosnia-Herzegovina announced at its latest session, held on Monday, 25 April, that Mato Andric had irrevocably given up his candidacy for reelection as president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, the post he has held over the past year. This unexpected move was closely connected with the decision of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which failed to extend support to the renewal of his term of office. This was a decision formulated in the conclusions of the session it held on 23 April. On this occasion, the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina sent, on 26 April, a critical letter to the Republican

Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Bosnia-Herzegovina in which it said, among other things, that "the decision of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to make its assessment public immediately has made any preliminary democratic dialogue impossible in many ways." In its lengthy letter, the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina touched on the procedure of electing the president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina and in particular upon the Youth Federation's remark that "Mato Andric does not fully enjoy the confidence of the people." This remark was denied by, among other things, stressing the fact that the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its president twice won a vote of confidence at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly and that his name has not been mentioned even once in a negative context, and therefore, the Presidency assessed his candidacy as acceptable.

Obviously dissatisfied with the contents of the republican Presidency's letter, the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation spoke up at the session it held today, presenting its views about this matter. A letter containing these views sent from this session to the Presidium of the SAWP Republican Conference said that the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina disagrees with the assessment of the Presidency to the effect that presenting one's opinion in public "while consultations are still under way" made it unfeasible to realize the point of the consultations and "made the preliminary democratic dialogue impossible."

We consider this statement to be contradictory, the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina says in its letter. This is because we believe that democratic dialogue without the participation of the public belongs to the practice of cadre wheeling and dealing behind closed doors, and not to the practice of the further democratization and socialization of cadre policy. Instead of explaining this view more, the letter continues, we shall quote the conclusion of the November report of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Agrokomerc affair (page 24, point 6) that says that "the work of all state institutions and organs must be accessible to the media and controllable by the broad public."

We do not agree, the Youth Presidium goes on to say, with the Presidency's statement that the Social Accord on Cadre Policy Implementation was fully complied with. The proposal on the candidacy of the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency was received by the Republican Conference of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 20 April 1988, that is, 6 days before the final elections. The Social Accord (Article 32) grants a period of 20 days to the participants in the consultations and 15 days to the organizer for informing the participants about possible remarks. The

same document (Article 29, Point 1) obliges its signatories to nominate several candidates for every post, as well as to expound on the final proposal (point 2). In this specific case, not a single one of the cited rules has been complied with.

According to the Social Accord (Article 12, Point 3), the organizer of the consultations should present the participants of the consultations with a special explanation of his proposal, and give special reasons and needs for a repeated election. This article was also not complied with.

The Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was also reproached for its unfounded statement that Comrade Mato Andric "does not enjoy the full confidence of working people and citizens, because he occupied top posts in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the past 4 years when big political and economic mistakes were made." In support of a different assessment, the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina stresses the fact that Comrade Mato Andric "was not mentioned in a negative context" during the said party debate. Sticking to the assessment it had made, the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina states that extremely positive assessments of somebody's work are necessary so that he can be nominated as president of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fact that no negative assessment has been made of Comrade Mato Andric, and that he has not been "mentioned in a negative context" cannot be considered as a recommendation for his election to such a post.

On this occasion, the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina expresses regret for the possible misinterpretation of its views and for the situation imposed on it in which it has to expound on and defend its stands. Therefore, it suggests that this question should be openly discussed at the session of the SAWPY Republican Conference of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina based its remarks on the principled questions of the democratization of cadre policy, the questions established in the Social Accord on Cadre Policy Implementation, on the stands of the First Conference of the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC, and on its assessments of the social climate. The remarks should also not be connected with Mato Andric's personality, it is said in the letter the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina sent to the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Vojvodina Official Against 'Radical' Changes
AU0505113088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
27 Apr 88 p 5

[Z. Krzelj report: "Radical Demands—Unacceptable"]

[Text] Split, 25 Apr—The guests of the fifth forum discussion on socioeconomic and political situation in some republics and provinces and the LC tasks in them, which was organized by the Marxist Center of the Croatian Intercommunal LC for Dalmatia, were Sinisa Korica and Miroslav Francuski, members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Speaking about the current socioeconomic situation in the province, Sinisa Korica said among other things that in Vojvodina there are more industrial products under direct price control than in other parts of the country. This proportion is also noticeable in the latest program of price liberalization: While only 24 industrial products are going to remain under direct price control in other parts of the country, in Vojvodina this number is almost twice as high, 42. In addition, the part of the revenue retained by associated labor organizations, after meeting their obligations, is falling much faster in Vojvodina than in other parts of the country. Since 1981, Korica said, the amount of money spent on joint and general expenditure in Vojvodina has been considerably smaller. Therefore it would be logical to ask what the bulk of money was spent on. The answer to this question is on interest rates.

Miroslav Francuski informed the participants in the forum discussion about the current political situation in Vojvodina and the activities of the Vojvodina LC. Francuski spoke in particular about the current changes to the federal constitution and the Constitution of the SR of Serbia as well as about relations within the SR of Serbia.

Parts and the Country As a Whole [subhead]

"As far as relations in the federation are concerned, we must turn more rapidly toward a situation in which parts of the country would bear more direct and clearer responsibility for the country as a whole. In practice, we must ensure that no individual republic or province cares about their own development without caring at the same time for the development of the Yugoslav community as a whole. The federal concept of Yugoslav community guarantees us this.

"The question of relations within the SR of Serbia has been at the center of the Yugoslav public's interest for some time now. The LCY Central Committee discussed these relations and adopted its stands. These stands were confirmed at the 13th LCY Congress. The joint stands of the LC of Serbia and the LC of Vojvodina were formed on this basis. These stands point out in a critical way where certain weaknesses in achieving unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia lie, and stress that it is

necessary that the socialist autonomous provinces assume greater responsibility for unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, and that the SR of Serbia should assume responsibility for the autonomy of the provinces.

"Some difficulties were encountered in finding a unified proposal on the direction of changes in the republican constitution. At present, we are jointly working on the preparation of amendments. I think that we must not find ourselves in the same or similar situation in which we found ourselves at the end of last year. In the respect, it is necessary to distance ourselves even more resolutely from the pressure for radical constitutional changes regarding the position of the SR of Serbia and the autonomous provinces.

"It is important to bear in mind that the SR of Serbia is a state only as a whole, only with its provinces, and not without them or above them. This is why the republican organs cannot perform the same duties on the whole territory of the SR of Serbia as for example the organs of the SR of Slovenia can on their territory.

"Another unacceptable and unconstitutional concept of relations in the SR of Serbia is the one according to which the working people and citizens, and peoples and nationalities in the socialist autonomous provinces would realize their self-managing rights above all in the republic, while in the provinces they would realize only those rights which the republic transfers to the provinces. With this, the autonomous provinces would cease to be the constituent parts of the Yugoslav federation.

About "Dissonant Tone" [subhead]

"However, some individuals are abusing the current discussion on constitutional changes and advocate another concept of relations according to which the autonomous provinces should lose their characteristics as constituent elements of Yugoslav federation."

Among the most interesting question asked at the forum discussion was the question raised by Sime Zivkovic and supplemented by other participants in the discussion: How did the Provincial Committee assess some speeches delivered at the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and did the Provincial Committee have these speeches in mind when it mentioned some dissonances regarding relations within the SR of Serbia even after the adoption of joint stands on constitutional changes?

After it had been clarified that Zivkovic had Stipe Suvar's speech in mind, Francuski said:

"We in the Provincial Committee have not been making assessments of anybody's speeches at the session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. You have probably seen that the Novi Sad DNEVNIK and some other newspapers started to polemicalize with a part of Comrade Suvar's speech. I think that we should not

dramatize and pay special attention to this. When I mentioned dissonant tones in some speeches, I did not have in mind speeches made at sessions of the LC organs. I had in mind speeches made in various discussion forums, in associations of writers, sociologists, philosophers, and so forth, and I think that the LC organs must take a more definite stand toward these speeches."

Answering Mate Buljubasic's question as to whether "Marcinko should have criticized Suvar's criticism of statism," Francuski answered the question that was not asked and said that "statism should be criticized." During the forum discussion he referred to this question once more:

"The question of whether the Vojvodina Provincial Committee is behind Marcinko's articles pervades this question. The Vojvodina LC is not behind any particular article, nor can it bear responsibility for this article. The LC of Vojvodina and its leadership are responsible for the global editorial policy of this paper.

Writers' Symposium Continues Kosovo Debate AU0305172788 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 28 Apr 88 p 10

[X. Mustafa, A. Berisha report: "Writers Cannot Evade Their Proper Responsibilities"]

[Text] At the 2-day symposium on the subject of "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today," writers of the Serbian and Albanian nationalities discussed at length this complex issue that has recently become so highly political. As expected, they could not escape this politicization even in this symposium, in which there were many opposing views, confrontations, and arguments. However, one has the impression that the writers present at this symposium delivered monologues, instead of taking part in a dialogue, and that they found it difficult to free themselves from the different national encumbrances that are typical of our present-day reality.

Eliminating Erroneous Theories [subhead]

Six speeches were heard during yesterday afternoon's session. Radovan Samardzic spoke about Serbian-Albanian relations in the most distant past, and remarked that there have been plenty of instances of mutual understanding, cooperation, and tolerance. In some places, the two peoples have common or mingled origins.

Historical destiny has caused the Albanians and Serbs to live alongside and in succession to each other in the same geographical area for centuries on end. Jusuf Buxhovi said at the beginning of his speech. Relations between the two peoples for the most part developed under the long domination of great empires. These relations

assumed a different course in the second half of the last century, when Serbia won its autonomy, while the Albanians remained under the yoke of the Turkish Empire for several decades more.

Talking about present-day Serbian-Albanian relations, he pointed out that time has unfortunately shown that even after 40 and more years of life under common conditions, some people have still not abandoned old prejudices. These people, who have always been upset at the idea of real equality for everybody, now, under the circumstances of the present social and economic crisis in Yugoslavia, demand a "reappraisal." In the name of "free democratic thought," the doors are opened to publications of every kind that have a single aim: to make facts out of lies and slanders, and lies and slanders out of facts! For instance, three typical books can be cited, from among the many books that, with their calumnies and destructive attitudes, do not lag behind such books as Vladan Djordjevic's "The Albanians and the Great Powers," published in 1913. These are "Jastrebov in Prizren" written by Vladimir Bovan; "Letters from Serbian Consuls in Pristina, 1890-1900" by Branko Perunicic; "A Book About Kosovo" by Dimitrije Bogdanovic. As portrayed in these three books, the Albanians have always been vandals and wreckers, will remain so forever, and have usurped the territories of others.

After analyzing in detail the books in question, Jusuf Buxhovi concluded that, for the sake of present and future Serbian-Albanian togetherness, it would be especially useful to eliminate erroneous theories about the Albanians from the Yugoslav environment. The origin and character of the Albanian people must be correctly explained in school textbooks. It is particularly important to say that Serbian-Albanian togetherness is not new, but dates back to the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans, and existed throughout the Middle Ages and down to the present day.

For Total Equality [subhead]

Milan Komnenic expressed a lack of confidence in the tenor of the discussion, and added that "today's bloody event," revolves, grammatically speaking, around two pronouns: we and you.

I can thoroughly understand, he went on to say, that the Albanians do not want to be Yugoslavs. They want to be what they are, and in that sense their refusal to be something else is reasonable. I can understand that they do not want a national anthem that mentions the Slavic spirit, nor the flag, nor the language, nor moral customs, nor anything else. However, I cannot understand why all this has to be taken into account and considered as decisive. I cannot see how a minority can dictate to the majority, and nor can the whole of European public opinion. In Komnenic's view, conditions can only

become normal if the Albanians are allowed what belongs to national minorities in all countries under the rule of law, and no more and no less.

Ali Aliu dwelt particularly on the position of the Albanians in Macedonia, where, he said, they have extremely limited opportunities in education and culture, employment, and public life. They are guaranteed only mandatory elementary education, and their limited opportunities for secondary education in their mother tongue are shrinking annually. Demands by young pupils for education in their own language are labeled as Albanian chauvinism, since this will supposedly lead to the creation of ethnically pure classes.

In conclusion, Ali Aliu stressed that fostering illusions that repressive measures can force the Albanians into positions they cannot accept, and forcing them back into the past, is anachronistic and a form of spiritual sloth. It is not hard to realize that solutions that further reduce their equality cannot be accepted. There is only one way out of this dead end. I hope, and wish also to believe, that we will be able to go forward under conditions of equality.

The Introduction of the Standard Albanian Language [subhead]

Jovan Deretic considered that theories about the dangers posed to the position of the Albanian nationality in the SR of Serbia, heard in the speeches of Kosovo writers, were unreasonable. No national minority in Europe, he added, has gained what the Albanian nationality in Kosovo has gained, and postwar Yugoslav and Serbian policy has not been aimed at the cultural destruction of the Albanians. On the other hand, national minorities in Albania do not enjoy any rights at all.

Besim Bokshi spoke, among other things, about the issue of the introduction of the standard Albanian language into Yugoslavia. He said that the creation of a single standard language has always been considered a very important cultural step for a people. However, the creation of a standard Albanian language has not pleased some people, because they say that it is a dangerous step in the case of the Albanians. It has been publicly stated in the press that it was a mistake to accept the introduction of the standard Albanian language for the Albanians in Yugoslavia. It has been said that a different standard of language to that used in Albania should have been created for them. It is considered irrelevant that other nationalities in Yugoslavia, such as the Hungarians, Romanians, and Italians, use the standard language of their mother country.

Speaking about the territorial bilingual principle, he stressed that Yugoslavia has made this principle an aspect of democracy and decentralism, but various bureaucratic forces exist among the republics, nourished by the nationalist ideas of the last century and the first part of the present century, which can be summed up in

the slogan: "One state, one people, one language." It is precisely these forces that permit deviations in practice from the principles and practices that have been laid down.

More Monologue Than Dialogue [subhead]

This morning the symposium heard two speeches and several contributions to the discussion.

Agim Mala began his speech by summing up the symposium so far, and considering various aspects of Kosovo today. At this symposium, which has been more a series of monologues than a dialogue, the hardest thing to bear has been the applause. The situation in which we find ourselves gives no cause for applause, yet neither does it give cause for tears, nor the emotional outbursts that have been frequent here. We need to think and talk rationally. We came here to carry out a civilized dialogue and "everything that we have heard at this symposium, all these overtones, seem to rise out of a dark gulf." The problem of emigration is disturbing, and it is precisely for this reason that great efforts are being made to prevent it. Nevertheless, however great this problem may be, it does not give anyone the right to say that genocide is being practiced in Kosovo. I must make it clear that I would not live anywhere where any form of genocide is practiced. However, some people find this slogan, which if I am not mistaken was launched many years ago in the very place where we are meeting now, a convenient one for certain political reasons, and it is therefore allowed to be freely used.

After talking about some of the recent ways in which the autonomy of Kosovo has been contested, Agim Mala stressed that he could not agree with the rhetoric according to which the Albanians have been granted rights and freedoms as a gift. Simple logic shows that what has once been given can also be taken away should the need arise. It is therefore no wonder that we increasingly hear the view that, since we have given them so many rights, and they are now abusing them, these rights must now be taken from them. I had believed, he said, talking once again about the present symposium, that we would be more self-critical, and would talk more about the nationalism in our own ranks that is our common enemy. I am now convinced that this symposium should perhaps have been organized by the party activists within our associations, since we would then have heard more views from the position of the LCY. Agim Mala devoted a considerable part of his speech to the one-sided treatment of Albanians in the press and the difficult living conditions that members of this nationality suffer.

The final contribution to the symposium, which was entitled "A Third Balkan War to Create a Second Albanian State in Europe," was delivered by Zivorad Stojkovic. Stojkovic described a supposed program to create such a state, starting from the League of Prizren and continuing down to the present day. In this context, he observed indiscriminately that "we cannot contest the

Conference of Bujan without contesting an array of other documents, down to the 1974 Constitution." How has it come about, Stojkovic added, that all this has happened 75 years after the liberation of Old Serbia [prewar name for Kosovo]? According to this speaker, Kosovo was supposedly separated from Serbia. He drew attention to the decision of the Serbian Assembly in 1945 to declare Kosovo and Metohija a region, even though it was well-known that Kosovo had always belonged to Serbia and was in no way different, either historically or demographically.

Nationalism Is Not a Property of Peoples, but of Groups and Individuals [subhead]

The first contribution to the discussion that began after the speeches came from Petar Saric, who expressed amazement that his Albanian colleagues had not included Serbian writers from Kosovo in their delegation to this symposium. He also criticized yesterday's speeches by Kosovo writers which, in his view, had been one-sided and in total confrontation with the highest party and state bodies in Yugoslavia and Serbia. Saric went on to mention certain instances of what he called favoring the majority in the Kosovo Writers Association, and added that the majority of the Albanian intellectuals and politicians were against the constitutional changes and all other kinds of change.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Arguments Over Origins [subhead]

There was much argument at this symposium, especially over the theory of the Illyrian origin of the Albanians and the Albanian language, and the presence of the Albanians in Kosovo in the Middle Ages. For example, while Jusuf Buxhovi produced evidence in his speech that the Albanian element in Kosovo had been quite prominent during the Middle Ages, Pavle Ivic argued that the number of Albanians in Kosovo in the Middle Ages was no more than a symbolic proportion of the population. Besim Bokshi said in his reply that Ivic had categorically denied any connection between the Albanian and Illyrian languages some years ago, while now, perhaps because he has read fresh documents, he has reassessed this link and sees it as a possible one. Besim Bokshi also responded to the charge leveled at the symposium that the Albanian writers are nationalists. [end of boxed passage]

The Albanian writers, Dusan Batakovic said, are unfairly attacking Serbian academic life and its attitude toward the Albanians. In fact, this attack is based on distorted theories, and it is not difficult to see that it is supported by a vocabulary and by arguments coming from Tirana. Meanwhile, Djordje Trifunovic rejected attacks on bourgeois Serbian science, since, he said, no such thing exists. It is in fact a question of Serbian academic criticism, which was created precisely through a rejection of

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romantic myths. Serbian science accepts that the Albanians were present in Kosovo in small numbers during the 14th century, but Byzantine documents show that they were not present at all in the area a century earlier. Trifunovic proposed that the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo legend (in other words, the Battle of Kosovo), which grew up during the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, should be commemorated next year.

Darinka Jevric made a series of observations on the Albanian writers' speeches, and accused them of viewing the problem of Kosovo in a one-sided fashion. She also spoke about the constitutional changes and stressed that Serbian and Montenegrin writers from Kosovo and other members of these nationalities were in favor of the changes, which will make Serbia the equal of other republics. Radoslav Zlatanovic also spoke about different aspects of social and political life in Kosovo, and especially discussed the supposedly unjust cadre policy pursued in the province.

After discussing the phenomenon of nationalism in general, with its primitive egotism, Azem Shkreli said that Albanian nationalism has been combated in recent years by Serbian and other forms of nationalism. Nationalism is not a property of peoples, but of groups and specific individuals. Nationalism does not arise as an expression of opposition to another nationalism, as is often said, but rather takes the form of hatred of a people. After talking about the many articles published in the press in recent years and about various books and pamphlets against the Albanians, Azem Shkreli stressed ironically that Milan Komnenic offered us a fight yesterday evening, but he is not in the hall today. This is a paradox: A poet issues a challenge to a fight, and disappears. But I shall not accept this challenge, because I am not authorized to do so. We cannot deny our share of responsibility for what has happened in recent years, Azem Shkreli said, among other things. He also called for more goodwill and a more rational treatment of issues and problems. Meanwhile Hasan Mekuli pointed out that we cannot forget that tendencies exist to debar Albanians from life in society.

Concluding the 2-day symposium, Aleksander Petrov said that he had hoped that his closing words would be warmer and more pleasant than those with which he opened the occasion. This symposium, he said, has been a history lesson. It has not been a historic turning point, for it is evidently still early for such a thing. It has not been a lesson in either love or hatred, but a lesson in sincerity. After this, our first discussion—although it has seemed more like a series of monologues than a dialogue—we know each other better. Petrov ended by announcing that the second part of the discussion on the topic of "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today" will be held in Pristina on 16 and 17 May.

Serbs, Montenegrins Gather at Klina, Kosovo
AU0505204188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Klina, 5 May (TANJUG)—Some 250 citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality gathered in front of the Communal Committee of the LC in Klina this evening. They demanded that the communal leaders let them hold a gathering of Communists and working people at which they would propose a delegate for the forthcoming LCY Conference, who would present their problems. This would be in conformity with the conclusion adopted at a protest gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins in Berkovo on 2 May this year. A citizens' delegation was received by Ramadan Milaku, president of the Klina LC Communal Committee, and Dusan Catovic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. They explained that a delegate had already been elected in the commune and that he will present the problems that press on the people of the region. Milaku and Catovic stressed their readiness to participate in the clarification of problems at legal gatherings in villages and in work organizations. In the meantime, the people who have gathered entered the Culture Hall and filled it completely. After a pained atmosphere and a 30-minute delay, the leadership of the commune accepted the invitation to attend the gathering.

The gathering in Klina this evening is also attended by citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from the neighboring communes of Istok, Pec, and Malisevo.

Tanzanian Prime Minister Pays Official Visit

Arrives 4 May

AU0605124488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 88 p 7

[TANJUG report: "Warioba in Belgrade"]

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May—Joseph Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the Republic of Tanzania, arrived this morning for an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

Immediately after his arrival, he started talks with his host, FEC President Branko Mikulic on furthering economic and other bilateral cooperation, which has a long tradition and friendly characteristics.

The exchange of views also includes the most important international problems and the activity of nonaligned countries.

The guest from friendly nonaligned Tanzania was given a festive welcome at Belgrade Airport with the honors paid to foreign statesmen. Joseph Warioba, his wife, and associates were welcomed by Branko Mikulic and his wife; Desimir Jestic, president of the Serbian Executive

Council; Budimir Loncar, member of the FEC and federal secretary for foreign affairs; Franciska Cetkovic, member of the FEC; as well as other personalities.

After greeting his hosts and after the national anthems of the two countries were played, Joseph Warioba inspected the honor guard.

Together with the prime minister, the following have also arrived in Belgrade: Joseph Rwegasira, minister of industries and trade; Amina Salum Ali, minister of state for foreign affairs; and Idi Pandu Hassan, minister of state for the office of the president of Zanzibar.

After his arrival in Belgrade, the guest from Tanzania laid flowers on President Tito's tomb and on the monument of the Unknown Soldier on Mount Avala.

Joseph Warioba's visit to Yugoslavia will last until Saturday. Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, are expected to receive the guest and have talks with him.

Welcomed by Mikulic

LD0605065588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0847 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 4 May (TANJUG)—Joseph Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania, arrived in Belgrade this morning on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia. With FEC President Branko Mikulic and other Yugoslav officials, the Tanzanian prime minister will discuss the possibilities of advancing bilateral cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere. Reference will also be made to the activities of nonaligned countries and international developments.

At Belgrade Airport the guest from friendly Tanzania was given a formal welcome attended by Branko Mikulic and other Yugoslav officials.

Talks Open

LD0405173488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Tanzania are developing comprehensive relations based on traditional friendship founded by Josip Broz Tito and Julius Nyerere. This was pointed out today in the talks between Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, and Joseph Warioba, prime minister and first vice president of Tanzania.

The two countries closely cooperate within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement, the Group of 77, and the United Nations. They share identical views on the biggest political and economic questions of the present world. This attests to the high quality of bilateral relations developed so far. Mikulic and Warioba stressed

that it was necessary to further develop economic, scientific-technical, and cultural-educational cooperation as well as any other cooperation of interest to the two countries. In this context they pointed out that for quite some time Yugoslav organizations have been building transmission lines, roads, bridges, industrial works, ships, and other development projects in Tanzania and that prospects for their involvement in future are widening.

It is important that we have not allowed economic cooperation to stop at a time when Yugoslavia and Tanzania are going through certain economic difficulties. This is the assessment of both prime ministers. It was agreed that cochair of the Mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, Franciska Cetkovic, member of the FEC, and Amina Salum Ali, state minister for foreign affairs, should in the forthcoming days discuss economic relations at length and then inform Mikulic and Warioba of the results and present concrete proposals about future cooperation.

Concerning international relations, the two sides welcomed the process of detente initiated by the Gorbachev-Reagan dialogue. They expressed the expectation that in the future the strengthening of confidence will be encouraged and that detente, as a universal process, would spread to all countries and include the entire international community.

They stressed the importance of the Nonaligned Movement in the world and pointed out the need to continue making it more dynamic, as well as the need for the capability for action.

The negotiations between the two superpowers have, however, completely neglected huge economic problems, in particular those of developing countries. Without dealing with these problems, that is, the burden of debts and improving the position of developing countries in general, there cannot be real prospects either in the direction of detente, nor can progress in world relations as a whole be expected, Mikulic and his guest said. Therefore, they appealed for better North-South cooperation, as well as for closer cooperation between developing countries and for agreements in connection with joint participation in a dialogue with developed countries, in particular in connection with the debt problems. Presently, developing countries have a debt of \$1.2 trillion and this presents both a big burden and a danger for them, as well as a problem for creditors, since debtors should be given an opportunity for their own development so that debts can be repaid without hindrance. Therefore, dealing with the debt crisis is in the interest of debtors and creditors alike, Mikulic and Warioba stressed. It is significant that developing countries are developing scientific-technical cooperation both in bilateral and multilateral areas, so that they can catch up to the developed world and avoid the danger of falling into so-called technological colonialism.

In connection with the situation in South Africa, the two sides expressed full support for the Frontline States with the statement that the existence of apartheid in South Africa is a shame for all humankind. The Yugoslav and Tanzanian prime ministers stressed that a solution for the problem of Namibia must be sought in this country's gaining independence and in accordance with the UN Security Council Resolution 435. In sharpest terms they condemned the policy of South Africa, which is carrying out aggression against Angola and other neighboring countries.

Joseph Warioba spoke more about events in Africa while Branko Mikulic acquainted his guest in detail with European trends, in particular within the framework of the Vienna CSCE.

The FEC President and Tanzanian prime minister stressed that it was necessary to find peace-loving and comprehensive political solutions for the crises in the Middle East, the Gulf and Afghanistan.

Zemljarić Meets Austrian Chancellor
LD0505192388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Vienna 5 May (TANJUG)—Within regular consultations between the two governments, FEC Vice President Janez Zemljarić and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky held talks today in Vienna on improving economic, financial, and overall cooperation between Yugoslavia and Austria. FEC Vice President Zemljarić informed his co-negotiator about proposals from the economic reform program, economic-systemic changes, and structural adaptations of the Yugoslav economy, in which the Austrian chancellor showed interest and full understanding.

They also discussed the effects of these changes on Yugoslavia's international economic relations and on its economic cooperation with Austria, and, in this framework, long-term aspects of cooperation on big projects of changing the infrastructure and programs of restructuring in the Yugoslav economy. Milos Krstic, Yugoslav ambassador to Vienna, also took part in the talks.

Soviet TU Chairman Talks About Perestroika
AU0505195688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 5 May 88

["Interview with Soviet Trade Union Chairman by Yugoslav Journalists: There Is No Organized Resistance to the Course of Restructuring"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—The USSR workers class not only has supported perestroika [Russian word for restructuring used] from the very beginning, but also

constitutes its main support, Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the Soviet Trade Unions said in a conversation with Yugoslav journalists in Belgrade today.

"In the implementation of the reforms implied by perestroika—and it is a matter of democratizing sociopolitical life, intensifying the economy, and solving the social problems more rapidly—workers see a possibility for creating conditions for improving their own life." Anyway, Shalayev added, the entire transformation that is the spirit of perestroika can be implemented above all by those who work, and they are members of our trade unions. The pace with which perestroika will advance depends chiefly on them.

Stepan Shalayev, who heads a delegation of the Soviet trade unions, is on a 4-day visit to our country at the invitation of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council. Zvonimir Hrabar, president of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, also attended his press conference with Yugoslav journalists in the Trade Union Hall in Belgrade.

Perestroika, as a comprehensive reform undertaking, puts completely new obligations before the Soviet Trade Unions, such as they did not have previously, Shalayev said. "It is therefore our primary task to mobilize all our members—there are more than 140 million of them—so as to ensure even firmer courses for a revolutionary transformation of Soviet society."

As regards the forces of resistance, the chairman of the Soviet Trade Unions assessed that it is a question of individuals who do not like the new conditions imposed by perestroika. Some of them are in the central apparatus of ministries and state administration, and others are in the economy itself among the leaders who have got used to others thinking and making decisions on their behalf. Shalayev said that there is no overt resistance offered here, either.

There is no organized resistance to the course of perestroika, Stepan Shalayev added. He also believed that, at the forthcoming 19th CPSU Conference at the end of June, there will be no conflict between "the champions and the opponents of perestroika," but the conference will primarily examine new measures for solving essential problems that are appearing at this stage of perestroika, including a reform of the election system.

Stepan Shalayev told Yugoslav journalists that a delegation of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council will shortly visit the USSR, since his invitation was accepted in the talks between the two delegations today.

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